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“CREATING AN INDIAN SPACE IN THE CITY”: DEVELOPMENT, MAINTENANCE, AND
EVOLUTION OF CULTURAL IDENTITY AND CULTURAL CONNECTEDNESS AMONG
MULTIPLE GENERATIONS OF URBAN AMERICAN INDIANS

A Dissertation

Presented to

the Faculty of the Graduate School of Social Work

University of Denver

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

by

Nancy M. Lucero

August 2009

Advisor: Dr. Enid O. Cox

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Author: Nancy M. Lucero
Title: "CREATING AN INDIAN SPACE IN THE CITY": DEVELOPMENT,
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Degree Date: August 2009

ABSTRACT

This study examined the cultural identity and cultural connectedness of multiple generations of American Indians whose families had been living continuously in an urban area for 40 to 50 years. The intent of the current study was to better understand how members of this group developed and maintained their cultural identities while living away from a tribal community and as a small percentage of the population of a large and culturally diverse metropolitan area. The study also sought to identify what constituted cultural connectedness—a term used frequently amongst urban Indians that appears to encompass factors of importance to being American Indian. Three or four generations of members from five families were interviewed to explore not only the development and maintenance of cultural identity and connectedness, but of equal importance, how these phenomena may be evolving over the course of multiple generations and are impacted by urban living. A phenomenological approach was utilized to capture the lived experiences of study participants, and interviews were analyzed using Giorgi's methodology for the phenomenological reduction of qualitative data. Findings revealed meaning structures (*what* constituted the phenomena) and styles (*how* the phenomena were exhibited) of cultural identity and cultural connectedness, including the cognitive, affective, and behavioral constituents of each of these phenomena. Implications for social work research, education, and practice were discussed. The new knowledge generated by this

study may help agencies and those working with urban Indians to design and provide services that are more culturally relevant, as well as assist practitioners in their efforts to be better informed and skilled at working with this population.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION	1
Purpose of the Study and Contributions	2
Statement of the Problem and Context of the Issue	4
Contemporary Urbanization of American Indians.....	5
Effects of Urban Residence on Cultural Identity and Connectedness of Contemporary American Indians	6
Lack of Knowledge of Urban American Indiansby the Social Work Profession...	8
Significance of Study and Rationale for the Focus on the Target Population	9
Relevance to Social Work.....	10
Research Questions, Key Constructs, and Explanations of Terminology	11
Research Questions	11
Key Constructs.....	11
Terminology Used to Describe American Indians and Participant Characteristics	13
Overview of the Study	17
CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW	19
American Indian Urbanization.....	19
Bureau of Indian Affairs Voluntary Relocation Program.....	21
Cultural Identity	27
Effects of Urbanization and Assimilation on American Indian Cultural Identity	27
Literature on American Indian Cultural Identity	32
Cultural Connectedness	42
Gaps in the Literature on Urban American Indian Cultural Connectedness and Cultural Identity	45
CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY	49
Study Design.....	49
Rationale for Choice of Qualitative Methodology and a Phenomenological Approach	50
Conducting Research With American Indians and Their Communities.....	56
The Role and Stance of the Researcher	58
Conducting Research as an Insider	59
Theoretical Stance of the Researcher.....	64
Sampling and Recruitment.....	67
Sampling Rationale.....	67
Study Participants	70
The Story of Participant Recruitment and Identification.....	73
Data Collection and Interviewing	84
The Interviewing Process.....	84
Data Analysis	95
Descriptive Phenomenological Analysis Methodology.....	95
Procedures to Increase Validity, Credibility, and Trustworthiness of the Study	108

CHAPTER 4. FINDINGS: STRUCTURES AND STYLES OF CULTURAL IDENTITY	112
Introduction.....	112
Structures, Styles, and Presences of Cultural Identity Across Participants	117
Cultural Identity Structures.....	117
Indian identity in the urban context	1
Assimilation	1
Discrimination/ racism/stereotypes.....	1
Descriptions of the Cultural Identity Structures and Presences.....	123
Cultural Identity Styles	127
Descriptions of the Cultural Identity Styles and Presences	128
Descriptive Synthesis of Cultural Identity Structures and Styles	132
Elaboration and Discussion of Selected Cultural Identity Structures and Presences	136
Urban Environment's Effects on Indian Identity.....	137
Types of Indian Identities	144
Differences Between Urban and Reservation People and Context.....	155
Ethnic Misidentification.....	158
Elaboration and Discussion of Selected Cultural Identity Styles and Presences	161
Behaving Indian	161
Thinking and Feeling Indian	169
Being Bicultural	176
Living in an Indian Space in the City	179
Selected Individual Descriptive Syntheses of Cultural Identity	182
Rose—Generation.....	182
Marie—Generation 2	184
William—Generation 2.....	186
Melissa—Generation 3	188
Shaun—Generation 3.....	190
Vickie—Generation 4	191
Chapter Summary and Conclusion	194
CHAPTER 5. FINDINGS: STRUCTURES AND STYLES OF CULTURAL CONNECTEDNESS.....	195
Introduction.....	195
Structures, Styles, and Presences of Cultural Connectedness Across Participants....	195
Cultural Connectedness Structures	195
Descriptions of the Cultural Connectedness Structures and Presences	198
Cultural Connectedness Styles.....	200
Descriptions of the Cultural Connectedness Styles and Presences.....	202
Descriptive Synthesis of Cultural Connectedness Structures and Styles.....	205
Elaboration and Discussion of Selected Cultural Connectedness Structures and Styles and Their Presences	206
Connections With Other American Indians (Structure), and Relating and Interacting With Other American Indians (Style).....	207

Reservation/Tribal Community (Structure) and Going Back to the Reservation (Style).....	213
Family (Structure) and Being Part of an Indian Family (Style).....	218
Knowledge of Culture (Structure) and Learning About Tribal Culture, History, and Current Events (Style).....	222
Loss or Retention of Culture.....	225
Being Involved With Indian Culture.....	233
Individual Descriptive Syntheses of the Structures and Styles of Cultural Connectedness.....	237
Shirley—Generation 1	237
Belinda—Generation 2	239
Caroline—Generation 2	242
Angela—Generation 3	245
Brooke—Generation 3	248
Cheryl—Generation 2	250
Chapter Summary and Conclusion	252

CHAPTER 6. FINDINGS: INTERGENERATIONAL ANALYSIS OF THE STRUCTURES AND STYLES OF CULTURAL IDENTITY AND CULTURAL CONNECTEDNESS..... 254

Introduction.....	254
Intergenerational Analysis of Cultural Identity	254
Generational Characteristics of Cultural Identity	254
Intergenerational Comparisons of the Structures and Styles of Cultural Identity	262
Features of Indian Identity (Structure).....	263
Urban Environment's Effects on Indian Identity (Structure)	265
Types of Indian Identities (Structure) and Ways of Identifying as Indian to Others (Style).....	266
Development of Indian Identity (Structure) and Developing Indian Identity (Style), Maintenance of Indian Identity (Structure) and Maintaining and Strengthening Indian Identity (Style).....	267
Differences Between Urban and Reservation People and Contexts (Structure)	269
Phenotype and Blood Quantum (Structure).....	271
Fitting In (Structure)	272
Non-Indians and Identity (Structure)	273
Identity in Biracial and Multiracial Indians (Structure) Being a Biracial Indian (Style).....	274
Ethnic Misidentification (Structure)	275
Discrimination, Racism, and Stereotypes (Structure).....	276
Assimilation (Structure).....	277
Behaving Indian (Style)	278
Thinking and Feeling Indian (Style)	280
Being Bicultural (Style)	280
Living in an Indian Space in the City (Style)	282
Intergenerational Analysis of Cultural Connectedness.....	282

Generational Characteristics of Cultural Connectedness.....	282
Intergenerational Comparisons of the Structures and Styles of Cultural Connectedness	288
Connections With Other American Indians (Structure) and Relating and Interacting With Other American Indians (Style).....	288
Reservation/Tribal Community (Structure) and Going Back to the Reservation (Style).....	291
Cultural Traditions and Values (Structure) and Practicing Cultural Traditions and Demonstrating Cultural Values (Style).....	294
Family (Structure) and Being Part of an Indian Family (Style).....	296
Loss or Retention of Culture (Structure)	298
Urban Context (Structure) and Negotiating the Urban Environment (Style)	299
Knowledge of Culture (Structure) and Learning About Tribal Culture, History, and Current Events (Style).....	301
Powwows (Structure).....	304
Urban Indian Young People (Structure)	305
Being Involved With Indian Culture (Style).....	306
CHAPTER 7. DISCUSSION.....	308
Generational Aspects of Cultural Identity and Cultural Connectedness	309
Cultural Identity	309
Cultural Connectedness	316
Implications for Social Work Research	324
Relationship Between Cultural Identity and Cultural Connectedness.....	325
Implications for Social Work Education.....	328
Implications for Social Work Practice.....	331
Strengths and Limitations of the Study.....	334
Study Strengths	334
Study Limitations.....	337
Conclusion	340
REFERENCES	342
APPENDIX 1. INTERVIEW GUIDES	356
APPENDIX 2. EXAMPLES OF CENTRAL THEMES FOR EACH MEANING UNIT OF AN INTERVIEW	360
APPENDIX 3. GENERALIZED DESCRIPTIVE STATEMENTS FROM THE PHENOMENOLOGICAL REDUCTION OF A PARTICIPANT NARRATIVE	380
APPENDIX 4. INDIVIDUAL DESCRIPTIVE SYNTHESSES OF CULTURAL IDENTITY STRUCTURES AND STYLES	385

APPENDIX 5. INDIVIDUAL DESCRIPTIVE SYNTHESSES OF CULTURAL CONNECTEDNESS STRUCTURES AND STYLES.....	425
APPENDIX 6. FAMILY DESCRIPTIVE SYNTHESSES OF CULTURAL IDENTITY AND CULTURAL CONNECTEDNESS.....	460
APPENDIX 7. INFORMED CONSENT AND MINOR ASSENT FORMS.....	465
APPENDIX 8. UNIVERSITY IRB APPROVAL	470

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

TABLES

Table 1: Generalized Descriptive Statements for Interview Example.....	104
Table 2: Examples of Generalized Descriptive Statements for Structures and Styles ...	116
Table 3: Structures of Cultural Identity Across Participants	119
Table 4: Presences Within the Cultural Identity Structures.....	122
Table 5: Styles of Cultural Identity Across Participants.....	128
Table 6: Presences Within the Cultural Identity Styles	129
Table 7: Structures of Cultural Connectedness Across Participants.....	196
Table 8: Presences Within the Cultural Connectedness Structures	196
Table 9: Styles of Cultural Connectedness Across Participants	201
Table 10: Presences Within the Cultural Connectedness Styles.....	202
Table 11: Generation 1 Demographics	257
Table 12: Individual Participant Demographics for Generations 2, 3, and 4	259
Table 13: 327Identity and Connectedness Factors for Generation 3 and 4 Participants	327

FIGURES

Figure 1: 327The web of relationships in an overdetermined structural process	118
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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

*We are not vanishing; we are not going anywhere;
We live here . . . We are everywhere.
We have been scattered like seeds upon the wind,
But like the good seed that we are,
We found the earth, we found the water
And we grew . . .
For like a tree with many branches,
We are nourished by our roots.*

- Tim Tingle (2003, pp.140-141)

Contrary to the common belief that the lingering remnants of American Indian tribes remain on reservations well-removed from the mainstream of American life, a large percentage of American Indians have, in fact, become a part of the multicultural mix that is contemporary urban America. The vast majority of American Indian people now live in cities and not on tribal lands; the 2000 U.S. Census estimated that 64% of all American Indians reside in urban areas (United States Census Bureau, 2004).

The 25-year period from 1952 through the late 1970s was witness to a rapid growth in the number of American Indians living in urban centers. This urbanization process resulted in large part from the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) Voluntary Relocation Program (also referred to as Relocation, Relocation Program, or the Program), which began in 1952 and resulted in thousands of American Indians leaving their reservations for employment and training in targeted U.S. cities. However, following the end of World War II and even prior to the official Relocation Program, an initial wave of American Indians, many of whom were military veterans, had begun settling in American

cities. These individuals and families, along with those newly arrived through the Relocation Program, laid down the foundations of many of the urban Indian communities seen today, including Denver, Colorado, an urban American Indian community that has flourished for more than 50 years.

Social science researchers showed initial interest in the experiences of American Indian Relocates while the Relocation Program was at its height; this interest all but disappeared by the mid-1980s. Minimal interest in urban American Indians and their communities has been shown since that time, and this has led to an absence from the collective body of social science knowledge of a thorough and up-to-date exploration of American Indian urbanization. A significant gap exists in understanding the effects of the movement from reservation to urban life over generations, and especially how long-term urban residence may have resulted in generational differences in the cultural identity and cultural connectedness of urban Indians. No empirical study comparing generations of urban American Indians has been done to date. The current qualitative study, which identifies and compares differences in cultural identity and cultural connectedness between members of the generation who left their reservation or tribal community to settle in Denver, and their children, grandchildren, and even great-grandchildren, has attempted to help fill this gap.

Purpose of the Study and Contributions

The purpose of this dissertation research study was to examine the cultural identity and cultural connectedness of urban American Indians whose families had lived in Denver, Colorado for at least three generations, and to explore these two phenomena in

order to identify the intergenerational differences and similarities in each. The study was also aimed at establishing a new area of inquiry that looks at the effects of multigenerational urban residence on the ways that urban American Indians engage with and express their cultural identity and connectedness. And, finally, it is hoped that this study will form the foundation of an ongoing research agenda that will increase understanding of urban Indians, who, although often largely unseen in the mix of people of color in urban areas or marginalized by a focus on reservation-based Indian populations, in actuality, now comprise the majority of the American Indian population.

Five families, each from a different tribe and who now reside permanently in Denver, Colorado, participated in the study. Each of the families had a member or members who relocated from a reservation to Denver, either on their own or as a result of participation in the Bureau of Indian Affairs Voluntary Relocation Program, at a point between the late-1940s through the late-1960s. In-depth interviews with a minimum of one member from 3 or 4 generations of each family were conducted for this qualitative study, utilizing a descriptive phenomenological approach. In interviewing study participants, emphasis was placed on understanding and capturing experiences and perspectives of each generation, including that of the original Relocatee. Interview questions explored topics that included how living in an urban area may have affected a participant's cultural identity and cultural connectedness, and how he or she had developed and maintained his or her cultural identity and cultural connectedness within the context of long-term residence in an urban area.

It is anticipated that the experience-based knowledge provided by the four generations of contemporary urban American Indians who participated in this study can now provide social work and other social science disciplines with a deeper and richer understanding of the urban American Indian experience and a more nuanced picture of the cultural milieu of urban American Indians and their communities. Contained within the findings are also detailed descriptions that give perspectives from multiple generations about what comprises urban American Indians' cultural identity and cultural connectedness and how it is expressed and enacted.

Statement of the Problem and Context of the Issue

The social sciences have been detrimentally impacted by a lack of empirical information—as well as the presence of much theoretical misinformation—on the urban Indian experience. Despite the fact that the majority of Indian people now live in urban areas, American Indians living in American cities exist largely as an unseen group. Their experiences remain relatively unexplored and, as a result, are poorly understood. In addition, social science research and teaching continues to privilege a reservation-based perspective that reinforces the invisibility of urban Indian people and the marginalization of their communities. The absence of the urban perspective has also played a part in the continued essentialization and romanticization of American Indians as historical Others, who are mistakenly believed to remain ensconced on their reservations, well apart from contemporary urban life. To counter this, it is essential that information on the lifestyles, worldviews, and value systems of urban American Indians, and the ways in which they

engage their identities outside of their tribal communities, is available within the body of social science knowledge, alongside information on tribally based American Indians.

Several of the contextual factors that affect urban American Indians and have particular bearing on this study are outlined and examined in the section that follows. These factors include the historical processes and federal Indian policies that have brought American Indians into the urban environment; the effects of urbanization on the cultural identity and cultural connectedness of contemporary American Indians, including issues of Native authenticity—who is or is not American Indian; and the social work profession's poor understanding of the cultural milieu within which American Indian clients live.

Contemporary Urbanization of American Indians

As was stated earlier, more than 60% of all American Indians currently reside in urban areas, often at great distance from their home reservations or tribal communities. The existence of American Indian communities in major urban areas (such as Chicago, Los Angeles, and Denver) can be directly traced to the BIA's Voluntary Relocation Program, which officially began in 1952 and resulted in upwards of 150,000 to 200,000 American Indians leaving their reservations and moving to urban areas for employment and training (Fixico, 2000; Snipp 1992; Sorkin, 1978). Stories of the negative and tragic experiences of many Relocates, combined with assimilationist fears, have created an image of urban Indian life that continues generations later to strongly color beliefs about the lifestyles and cultural identities of this group of contemporary Indian people.

Many Native cultures see the past as “alive” and as a powerful force that continues to impact Indian people, both individually and as a collective community (Yellow Horse Brave Heart, 2003). In urban areas such as Denver, Colorado, the arrival of Indian people, as the result of both the post-World War II influx and the Relocation Program, is just such a piece of living history. These two historical processes were responsible, in most part, for the growth and development of the Denver Indian community. Such urbanization not only affected the original Relocates, but has also impacted the cultural identity and cultural connectedness of subsequent generations of urban American Indian people.

Effects of Urban Residence on Cultural Identity and Connectedness of Contemporary American Indians

Urban American Indians find themselves constructing and negotiating their cultural identity from a complex social location. The frequency, intensity, and quality of their interactions with the dominant culture and other ethnic groups may be quite different from American Indians living within the sociocultural boundedness of the reservation or tribal community setting. For example, in providing social work services to urban American Indians, the author has observed that urban American Indians’ social location within a multicultural urban ethnic matrix results in distinct behaviors, attitudes, and practices that individuals use to develop and maintain their cultural identity or the sense that they are both American Indian and connected to Indian culture (both tribal and general).

There has been an ongoing debate for decades that has centered on Native authenticity and “who is genuinely Indian.” With the contemporary urbanization of Indian people, and among them an increasing number with mixed heritage, the cultural identity and ongoing cultural connectedness of urban Indians has been questioned by some. As a result, there is a good deal of ambivalence about American Indian cultural identity as it relates to Native people in urban areas. Some ask, “Is an urban Indian identity an authentic and genuine Indian identity?” whereas others question, “Does something essential to Indianness get lost or skewed by the urban experience?”

However, below the surface of the authenticity debate and questions such as those above, there appears to be a more foundational concern in regard to American Indian identity. This concern centers on whether American Indian children and young adults are able to develop a strong and positive cultural identity when faced with powerful forces within the dominant culture that either continue to portray Native people in a stereotypical or negative light or attempt to subsume urban Native people within a mass “people of color” subgroup in which cultural differences become blurred. Many Native people report they feel that cultural identity and cultural connectedness are regularly under attack. Good reasons for these feelings may exist. Throughout the history of the United States and its relations with Native people, federal Indian policies have sought to destroy the integrity of families and tribal societies and to assimilate Indian people into the dominant culture. Urbanization of Native people, and especially as it occurred through the Relocation Program, is considered to be one of the latest examples of these assimilative processes (Tyler, 1973).

Lack of Knowledge of Urban American Indians by the Social Work Profession

One final contextual factor of importance to this study is the social work profession's lack of knowledge about urban American Indians. (This is discussed further in the section below that examines the study's relevance to social work.) Blackhawk (1995) contended that "the experiences of American Indians within modern American society remain poorly understood" (p. 18), and social workers and the social work profession share this lack of understanding of urban American Indians with the majority of Americans. This can make providing appropriate services a challenge for the social work profession (Earle & Cross, 2001; Mindel, Vidal de Haymes, & Francisco, 2003), and it often results in a lack of engagement between workers and clients (Lucero, 2007a).

Cultural diversity or cultural competency trainings commonly address American Indians solely from a reservation perspective. This can lead social workers to continue to believe that the majority of Native people live tucked away on tribal lands well out of the mainstream of American life, whereas in reality, the vast majority now resides in urban areas, and urban Indian communities exist in most major cities. The histories and contemporary lifestyles of urban American Indians remain subsumed and have yet to be adequately incorporated into the body of social work knowledge and practice as they pertain to issues of ethnic diversity and the provision of culturally appropriate services.

In addition, American Indian clients are very likely to receive services from non-Indian workers (Pierce & Pierce, 1996). However, most workers report that they have little, if any, knowledge of Indian culture, the experiences of Indian people, or the context within which they live (Mindell et al., 2003). Engagement with Indian clients is reported

by many workers to be “difficult,” and workers typically report that they have no knowledge or understanding of where to “start” with an Indian client in establishing rapport (Lucero, 2007a). Workers also typically report that they have no knowledge of community or cultural resources that are available to support Indian clients. Unfortunately, as a profession, social work is just as badly informed.

Significance of Study and Rationale for the Focus on the Target Population

In most scholarly treatments, the movement of American Indian people from their reservations to major U.S. cities, especially through the Relocation Program, is viewed in an essentialistic and deterministic way; it is positioned as a pivotal event that was yet another step in the planned destruction of Native cultures. Movement from reservation to city living has not been adequately studied as an element in an active process of cultural growth, evolution, and change—a process in which American Indian cultures were involved for centuries prior to the Relocation Program.

Little research has been done on how urban American Indians develop and maintain their cultural identity, especially those individuals whose families have been living in urban areas for several generations and who do not maintain strong ties to their reservations or tribal communities. In reviewing the literature, it is apparent that the dominant discourses around Relocation, assimilation, and urbanization, as well as their connections to the weakening of cultural identity and the rise of pan-Indianism (a generalized and de-tribalized Indian identity), arose during the 1960s and continued through the mid-1980s. These discourses have now remained relatively unquestioned for two decades. This study makes a

small contribution by reexamining one aspect of American Indian urbanization—changes over time in cultural identity and cultural connectedness.

Relevance to Social Work

Adequate and up-to-date information on the lifestyles, worldviews, and value systems of urban American Indians and their communities has yet to be adequately incorporated into the body of social work theory and practice knowledge. This phenomenon manifests in a near total lack of content on this population in most social work education programs. In these programs, this absence of information on urban American Indians—a group that accesses all of the service delivery systems in the urban settings in which social workers typically practice—is a significant omission that subsequently reveals itself an inability, on the part of many social workers, to practice in culturally responsive ways.

One aim of the current study was to yield experience-based knowledge for incorporation into social work curricula through exploration of the effects of urbanization on the cultural identity and cultural connections of this often hidden or highly marginalized population. Thus, findings of this study provide new perspectives on and understandings of the urban Indian experience, as well as information that can lead to improved curriculum content on American Indians in schools of social work. Curriculum improvements, in turn, may lead to practice enhancements that improve social workers' skills in providing culturally sensitive and responsive services to urban American Indian clients. And, as this study engages a more dynamic and strengths-based view of urban American Indians than is commonly found in the existing literature, it also identifies

cultural adaptations and strategies that can increase the ability of social work agencies to design programs and services that are culturally appropriate and meet the wide range of needs of this population.

Research Questions, Key Constructs, and Explanations of Terminology

Research Questions

This study sought to answer the following research questions:

1. “How do urban American Indians construct and maintain their cultural identities?”
2. “What strategies (i.e., cognitive, behavioral, emotional and/or spiritual) do urban American Indians employ to achieve a sense of being connected to their specific tribal and/or a generalized American Indian culture?”
3. “What differences related to cultural identity and cultural connectedness can be found between generations of American Indians whose families have maintained long-term residence in an urban area?”

Key Constructs

In order to address these research questions, two key constructs or phenomena are the focus of this study—cultural identity and cultural connectedness. Previous research has indicated that the construct “urban American Indian cultural identity” is complex and multidimensional. A number of definitions of cultural identity were reviewed by Moran, Fleming, Somervell, & Manson (1999), which included self-identification; feelings of belonging and commitment to an ethnic group; a sense of shared values and attitudes with

an ethnic group; and cultural aspects of ethnic groups, such as language, behavior, values, and knowledge of ethnic history. These authors concluded,

There does not seem to be a consensus [in the literature] as to the interpretation of ethnic identity and there is a need for empirical work to help clarify that concept... Conceptually, the term *ethnic identity* refers to the perception of the strength of a person's connection to an ethnic group . . . the diversity of the American Indian population raises questions as to which specific group a person may be referring when he or she identifies as American Indian. (pp. 406-407)

In alignment with Moran et al.'s (1999) question about ethnic group

identification, in the current study, cultural identity was differentiated from ethnic identity. Although several participants used the two terms interchangeably, in conceptualizing this study, cultural identity was considered to be a broader and more encompassing term than ethnic identity because, as Barrios and Eagan (2002) noted,

Cultural identity is conceptually a larger construct than either racial or ethnic identity. It refers to the total experience of a group of people and encompasses spirituality, language, norms of behavior and social organization, traditions and rituals, elements of a group's history, and values and beliefs that are passed from one generation to the next. (p. 208)

In order to remain consistent with phenomenological inquiry and its intention of allowing participants' lived experiences to define the phenomenon under consideration as well as the particular phenomenological data analysis methodology utilized in this study, formal operational definitions of the two phenomena under study were not developed prior to beginning the study. Giorgi (2008) noted that when approaching a study with a phenomenological stance, "the researcher certainly has some idea of what he or she is looking for, but chooses not to define it. In fact, the researcher brackets or puts aside his or her own understanding of the phenomenon" (p. 40) and instead allows the definition to emerge from participants' understandings and experiences of the phenomenon. However, to assist each participant to begin thinking about his or her cultural identity, at the

beginning of each interview this construct was presented in a general way as, “your sense of being or feeling that you are American Indian.” Subsequently, participants referred to their cultural identity in numerous ways, synonymously using such terms as “feeling Indian,” “identifying as Indian,” their “Indianness,” or “being Indian” to refer to the construct of American Indian cultural identity.

Similarly, the terms *cultural connectedness* or *cultural connection(s)* were not defined prior to beginning participant interviews, and they have also not been well-defined in the literature nor in previous research. In some cases, they are used synonymously or interchangeably with the construct “cultural identity,” although they also carry with them a sense of involvement in efforts that position the individual in an active relationship with expressions of American Indian culture (e.g., participation in powwows or spiritual practices or maintaining contact with elders in order to learn tribal traditions). The structures and styles of cultural connectedness found in this study have identified both cognitive and behavioral aspects of this construct, and discussion of the theorized relationship between cultural connectedness and cultural identity can be found in the final chapter.

Terminology Used to Describe American Indians and Participant Characteristics

Various terms are used throughout this study to describe characteristics of participants. First, the terms American Indian, Native American, and Native are all used to describe a person who has lineage descending from one of the tribes or groups of Native peoples first inhabiting the areas now known as the United States (including

Alaska) and who self-identifies as an enrolled or non-enrolled member of a federally or state-recognized tribe or Alaskan village.

Participants who have ancestors of both American Indian and one or more other racial/ethnic groups are referred to as *mixed blooded*, or in keeping with the use of Native terms supplied by participants, *biracial*, *multiracial*, or *of mixed heritage*. Participants whose descent is solely from American Indian ancestors are termed *full-blooded*. The author uses these terms herein while remaining cognizant of the continuing debate about the salience of racial categories, recognizing that linguistic boundaries between the terms race, ethnicity, and culture are often indistinct, and understanding the politicized nature of the concept of blood quantum as it has affected and continues to affect American Indian tribes and individuals.

Additional terminology that readers may encounter in participant quotes and elsewhere in the findings sections include *American Indian culture*, *bicultural*, *tribal heritage*, and *multi-tribal* or *of multi-tribal heritage*. American Indian culture is considered to be both the tribal-specific and the more general or shared representations of the values, practices, and worldviews of American Indian tribal groups, as well as the expression of these in both an urban and a reservation or tribal setting.

Bicultural, as used by participants, was not a reference to race or ethnicity; in all cases, this term referred to some blend of American Indian and White American culture—or what many participants referred to synonymously as “the dominant culture” or “mainstream culture.” For example, when a participant spoke of the need to be bicultural, he or she was referring to being able to understand the worldview and values

of both American Indian and White American culture and acting within acceptable norms of behavior in each. In no case did a reference to the term, bicultural, refer to American Indian culture and the culture of some other ethnic group in the United States.

Tribal heritage refers to the tribal group or people from which a participant is descended and/or is a recognized member. A participant who had heritage from two or more tribal groups would be considered to be multi-tribal or as having multiple tribal heritage. Other terms describing characteristics of study participants include the following:

Urban American Indian

An *urban American Indian* is an American Indian individual who is not domiciled on a reservation, reserve, pueblo, village, rancheria or other tribal community (“tribal land”), or in a rural area, and who identifies his or her place of residence as an urban area. Additionally, an urban American Indian is a person who identifies as either having been born in, or having lived for significant amounts of his or her life, in an urban area, and specifically for this study, the metropolitan area of Denver, Colorado.

Relocatee

A *Relocatee* refers in this study to an American Indian person who participated in the Bureau of Indian Affairs Voluntary Relocation Program during the span of its operation from approximately 1952 to the mid-1970s and who was relocated from his or her reservation to Denver, Colorado; or, a person who moved on his or her own from a reservation or tribal community to settle permanently in Denver.

Generation 1 Participant

The individual study participant who originally left his or her reservation or tribal community and moved to Denver to settle permanently is referred to as a *Generation 1 participant*. Generation 1 participants represent (a) the parents of Generation 2 participants, (b) the grandparents of Generation 3 participants, and (c) the great-grandparents of Generation 4 participants.

Generation 2 Participant

The son or daughter of a Generation 1 participant is referred to as a *Generation 2 participant*, and is (a) the parent of a Generation 3 participant, and (b) the grandparent of a Generation 4 participant.

Generation 3 Participant

A *Generation 3 participant* represents (a) the grandson or granddaughter of a Generation 1 participant, (b) the son or daughter of a Generation 2 participant, and (c) the parent of a Generation 4 participant.

Generation 4 Participant

A *Generation 4 participant* refers to (a) the great-grandson or great-granddaughter of a Generation 1 participant, (b) the grandson or granddaughter of a Generation 2 participant; and (c) the son or daughter of a Generation 3 participant.

Generational Group

As a collective group, all study participants who represent a discrete generation in their particular family are referred to as a generational group. Together, the members of a specific generational group are also referred to as Generation 1s, 2s, 3s, or 4s.

Other Terms

As a final note, participants frequently spoke of aspects of American Indian culture in a general and non-specific way as “cultural practices,” “cultural values,” or “traditions.” In other instances, participants discussed elements of Indian culture, such as spirituality, ceremonies, or even powwows, with which some readers may not be wholly familiar. In most cases, participants did not provide detailed descriptions of these cultural elements nor did the author request such descriptions. It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to provide in-depth explanations of the practices, values, and traditions to which participants referred. Further, out of respect for the tribal groups represented by the study participants, the author has not attempted to explicate cultural elements specific to those groups. Further, to protect the confidentiality of participants, the names of the specific tribes to which participants belong were not revealed in this study; the general tribal group or regional location of the tribe was used instead.

Overview of the Study

This study consists of seven chapters. The first—the chapter just presented—has given a general introduction to the study and briefly discussed historical and contextual factors that have led to the need to conduct research on the cultural identity and cultural connectedness of urban American Indians. Chapter 2 presents a review of the literature as it relates to (a) American Indian urbanization, including the Bureau of Indian Affairs Voluntary Relocation Program; (b) the effects of urbanization and assimilation on that cultural identity; (c) American Indian cultural identity, and specifically that of urban Indians; (d) American Indian cultural connectedness; and (e) gaps in the literature relevant to the two phenomena.

Chapter 3 contains the research methodology, including the study design and rationale for using a phenomenological approach. It goes on to address issues in conducting research with American Indians and their communities and as an insider researcher. Further, it presents challenges encountered in recruiting the study sample. Finally, Chapter 3 concludes by presenting the data collection and analysis procedures employed in the study.

The findings of the current study are presented over three chapters, beginning with Chapter 4. This chapter presents the structures and styles of the phenomenon, cultural identity, which emerged from participants' experiences. Similarly, Chapter 5 presents the structures and styles of cultural connectedness, the second study phenomenon. Chapter 6 provides the findings of an intergenerational analysis of the structures and styles of both cultural identity and cultural connectedness.

Chapter 7 entails a discussion of the findings related to the two study phenomena, implications for social work education and practice, suggestions for future research, and the strengths and limitations of the study. Finally, in addition to the seven chapters, Appendices 4 and 5 contain detailed descriptions of each study participant's engagement with the two study phenomena, and Appendix 6 contains a composite description of each family's engagement with the phenomena. The contents of these particular appendices in particular, may be of interest to readers who wish to see the unique and varied ways in which individuals expressed their cultural identity and cultural connectedness.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review focuses on four areas relevant to the current study. It begins by offering background on the process of American Indian urbanization—especially as it has been manifest in the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) Voluntary Relocation Program (known more commonly as the “Relocation Program” or simply, “Relocation”). It goes on to discuss the effects of urbanization and assimilation on the first of the study phenomena, American Indian cultural identity, and then presents theories of American Indian cultural identity and related empirical studies of the phenomenon.

For the most part, attention to the second study phenomenon, cultural connectedness, is missing from the social science literature. It is, however, a concept that was familiar to participants in this study, and in the experience of the author, is something commonly discussed by urban Indian people. The chapter concludes with consideration of the few instances in which cultural connectedness is found in the literature, followed by identification of the ways in which the current study addresses this and other gaps in the literature on urban American Indians.

American Indian Urbanization

Numerous sources agree that the movement of American Indians from their reservations and tribal communities into American cities, both small towns near reservations as well as major metropolitan areas, began well before the official start of the Relocation Program in the early 1950s (LaGrand, 2002; Officer, 1971; Tyler, 1973;

Weibel-Orlando, 1999). Beginning in the early part of the twentieth century and continuing well into mid-century, dire economic conditions on reservations created pressures that pushed Indians toward towns and cities, with Indian workers often migrating temporarily for seasonal or temporary jobs (Danziger, 1991; LaGrand, 2002). Whereas many of these workers engaged in a cycle of working in the city and then returning home again, a small number remained in the cities and towns to which they had migrated, and these individuals and families formed the foundation of an urbanization process that increased steadily during each decade that followed (Sorkin, 1978).

Following World War II, a significant number of Indian veterans returned to their tribal communities only to encounter difficulties securing employment and to find that their experiences in the military had created “a desire to participate in the mainstream society” (Fixico, 1986, p. 14). These Indian veterans formed another group that contributed to the increasing number of Indians who were living in urban areas prior to the U.S. government’s official policy of urban relocation.

However, despite a substantial number of Indians having, for various reasons, come on their own to live permanently in American towns and cities by the mid-twentieth century, the Relocation Program is commonly agreed to have been the major force behind the existence of the urban Indian communities seen today across the United States. For this reason, in the next section, background on this highly significant aspect of American Indian urbanization is presented.

Bureau of Indian Affairs Voluntary Relocation Program

The 25-year period beginning in 1952 and continuing through the late 1970s was witness to a rapid growth in the number of American Indians living in urban centers. This urbanization process resulted from several federal policy and programmatic decisions that reflected the U.S. government's increasing desire to distance itself from its centuries-old Indian problem. The 1940s tribal termination-era assimilationist policy, which aimed to sever the government's trust responsibility toward tribes, had been almost completely discredited, yet terminationist sentiments still remained in the Eisenhower administration (Burt, 1986). Support for policies that enacted specialized government programming and services for Indians was eroding. In place of these programs, calls for policies to encourage economic self-sufficiency on the part of individual Indians were heard (Philip, 1985). A strong desire took hold to shift to states and counties the federal government's role in providing services to Indian tribes and individuals (Sorkin, 1978).

In addition, American Indians had distinguished themselves in the armed forces during World War II (LaGrand, 2002); and during the late 1940s and early 1950s, Indian workers were increasingly being seen as an untapped pool of surplus laborers, who could be moved off reservations where unemployment was pandemic and better utilized by industrial and manufacturing firms in major U.S. cities (Fixico, 1986; Sorkin, 1978). It was widely held that in so doing, Indians would better assimilate into mainstream America, where they could achieve a higher level of economic well-being than would ever be possible in a reservation setting (Burt, 1986; Officer, 1971).

Although federal Indian policy remained strongly assimilationist at the beginning of the Relocation era, this did not lessen the need to address the very real issues of unemployment and poverty on American Indian reservations. The need for national attention to these dire economic conditions was brought to the forefront when those living on the Navajo and Hopi reservations were threatened with starvation, brought on by severe blizzards during the winter of 1947 (Burt, 1986). Officials in the Indian Bureau addressed this emergency by creating the Navajo Employment Services Program, which relocated Navajo workers to jobs in Denver, Los Angeles, and Salt Lake City (Philip, 1985; Tyler, 1973) where they were engaged in seasonal farm and railroad work (Sorkin, 1978). By late fall of 1950, the decision had been made to extend a program, similar to that offered to the Navajos, to other Indians who wished to move from their reservations to secure permanent employment (Tyler). At this time, Indian Commissioner Dillon S. Myer created a new Branch of Placement and Relocation and designed a program to move American Indian workers from their reservations to urban centers and jobs. Myer modeled the BIA's Voluntary Relocation Program after the War Relocation Program he had designed and which had relocated Japanese Americans from California to other parts of the United States during World War II (Fixico, 2000). A Congressional appropriation, in fiscal year 1952, led to the opening of Relocation Field Offices in Denver, Los Angeles, and Chicago (Neils, 1971). By February 1952, the first Relocatees arrived in Chicago (Fixico, 1986). Through the decades of the 1950s and 1960s, additional field offices opened in St. Louis, San Francisco, Oakland, San Jose, Dallas, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Tulsa, Oklahoma City, and Joliet and Waukegan, Illinois.

The Relocation Program came to be closely aligned in the minds of Native people with the prior policy of tribal termination and was seen as a move to assimilate and “terminate” Indians, one person at a time (Tyler, 1973). Blackhawk (1995) pointed out the assimilationist characteristics of Relocation policy as it was cloaked in employment opportunity: “Relocation attempted to establish an either-or scenario for American Indians whereby individuals would give up their tribal affiliations by moving to cities in return for middle-class ‘American’ values and economic prosperity, embodied in employment” (p. 18). Willard (1994) explained that policies of the Relocation Program purposely sought to keep Indian people from connecting with others from their tribes, as a way to facilitate the assimilation of Indian people:

The way the Relocation branch of the Bureau carried out the policy was to schedule mixed lots of people to the different cities where there were Relocation branch offices People came from all over the United States because it was a BIA policy to scatter everybody so there would be no concentration of people from the same tribe and same part of the country in any one city. Relocation Branch employees lectured people on becoming assimilated, telling them they should avoid having anything to do with other Indians. There was a working out of the mixture to ensure that people who were complete strangers to each other would arrive together to wherever they were sent. (p. 93)

To counter growing dissent from Indian people over the Program’s assimilationist aims, in 1962 the Bureau of Indian Affairs re-designated the Program as the Employment Assistance Program and attempted to focus attention on its vocational-training and job-placement aspects rather than relocation. Relocation continued through the mid-to-late 1970s until enactment of policy changes, brought about by the passage of the 1975 Indian Self-Determination and Educational Assistance Act (which, in part, sought to lessen the dependence of tribes on federal government assistance), shifted the government’s focus

to supporting tribal sovereignty and economic self-sufficiency (Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975).

The exact number of American Indians relocated through the Voluntary Relocation Program is difficult to determine. Sorkin (1978) estimated that by 1972, over 150,000 Indians had come to urban areas as a result of the Program, and Fixico (2000) and Snipp (1992) placed the number at more than 100,000. It is unclear whether these authors' figures represent the total number of individuals participating in the Program or are only for those who remained permanently in urban areas and did not return to their reservations. In an attempt to lessen criticism of its relocation program, the BIA simply stopped keeping track of who stayed and who returned to their reservation. "In 1959 the Bureau *eliminated* its statistical series on the status [returnee or non-returnee] of Relocation Indians. The Bureau felt that statistics on returnees were giving too much ammunition to critics of the program" (Sorkin, 1969, pp. 245-246). Philip (1985) contended that the Indian Bureau's statistics, which revealed "over 70 percent of the federally assisted Indian migrants between 1953 and 1960 did not return to their reservations" (p. 189), were inflated and that relocation was successful for only about 60% of Indians. According to Burt (1986),

The return rate was always a matter of controversy and embarrassment for the BIA. The bureau tried to discourage returns by moving Indians to cities furthest from their homes. . . . The BIA claimed that only thirty percent of relocatees ever returned to reservations, but critics contended that the number was much higher. (p. 91)

Harmon (1956), an early and very vocal critic, contended that only 40% of Relocatees remained in the city, and Gundlach and Roberts (1978) cited a 50% return rate. Despite their variations, these figures indicate that the Relocation experience was

not something that was easy for those participating in the Program, and many chose to forego chances for attaining the promised economic prosperity and return to their reservation homes.

A good portion of the body of social science literature describing the BIA Voluntary Relocation Program reflects a dominant discourse built around Relocatee narratives of struggle, dislocation, and extreme difficulty managing in the urban setting (Ablon, 1965; Fixico, 1986; Graves, 1970; Neils, 1971). For the most part, these accounts were written by non-Indian researchers (with the exception of Fixico) in the 1960s and 1970s, and their descriptions reflect an attitude of paternalism in relation to Indians and tribes and an essentialistic view of Indian people, which by current standards would be considered stereotypical, demeaning, and/or racist. In these accounts, American Indian Relocates are often portrayed as individuals who are unable to accommodate to work schedules, cannot properly manage their finances, allow themselves to be financially victimized by other Indians who are either drunken or do not want to work, and are content with being dependent upon the Relocation Program or other governmental agencies for assistance, support, and direction. The following quote from Ablon (1965) exemplifies this portrayal of Relocates:

Life in the city is a difficult and puzzling experience for most relocatees. Reservation life has little prepared them for the credit temptations and varied monetary pitfalls of urban society. On reservations Indians have a wardship status and have become accustomed throughout their lives to depend on governmental doles in the forms of money, commodities, and free medical services....

Few Indians learn to budget, and money is frequently expended on the impulse for quick gratifications such as a Polaroid camera or a ticket to a wrestling match. A lay-off, a sudden illness or a dental bill will often send a family back to the reservation for the always-certain commodities

or free medical services. Money worries are compounded by domestic problems and heavy drinking that are often carry-overs from the reservations rather than special problems of disorganization created by the shift to urban life. (pp. 367-368)
Blackhawk (1995), in a more contemporary reinterpretation of the “struggle”

narrative, contended that the dominant Relocation discourse privileges the negative aspects of the urban Indian experience and discounts the strength and resilience of Native people whose adaptation was more positive:

Although American Indians faced difficult, lonely, and often very tragic struggles within urban environments, to suggest that the challenges confronting American Indians in cities were insurmountable ignores the dynamic and resilient processes of American Indian cultural change and adaptation. These portrayals are so pervasive that even the most acclaimed American Indian writers emphasize the tragic nature of urban American Indian experiences. (p. 20)

More contemporary interpretations of the effects of the Relocation Program on Relocates dispute Ablon’s contention that the problems encountered by Relocates were carry-overs from dysfunctional reservation lifestyles (Lobo, 2003). The emotional and behavioral disorganization seen in Relocates has come increasingly to be interpreted as a manifestation of cultural dislocation and loss due to cutoffs from traditional kinship and community systems, which result when Indians leave their reservation homes and tribal communities and move to urban environments. However, the Relocation Program and urbanization have become so closely associated as to have become synonymous, and the experiences of Relocates have become superimposed upon those of all urban Indians. As a result, a discourse now commonly seen in the literature on American Indians is one in which the urbanization process, like the Relocation process, has become linked to cultural destruction and individuals’ disconnection from their tribal foundations, with a subsequent diminishing of cultural identity.

A majority of the scholarly literature on the Relocation Program either presents a description of the Program, the “what, where, when, and how,” or chronicles accounts of the difficulties experienced by Relocates in adjusting to urban life. The majority of frequently cited works comprising this body of literature was written while the Relocation Program was in operation or in the first half of the decade following the end of the Program. Few follow-up examinations of the Program have been done since the mid-1980s, with those articles and books written since that time tending to provide historical explanations of the Program (LaGrand, 2002; Shoemaker, 1988; Weibel-Orlando, 1999; Willard, 1994). Blackhawk (1995) and Straus and Valentino (1998) have begun to reinterpret the Relocation process and its effects; however, neither thorough qualitative analyses of the long-term effects of the Program on Relocates nor in-depth retrospective interpretations of the Program on the part of Relocates are apparent in the literature. No exploration appears to have been undertaken to assess how the tribal identities and cultural connections of American Indian Relocates, who remained in urban areas and experienced economic and job success in the dominant culture, have been affected by this process.

Cultural Identity

Effects of Urbanization and Assimilation on

American Indian Cultural Identity

American Indian cultural identity and tribal connectedness are commonly seen to have been negatively impacted by living in an urban area. “Urbanization has seemingly brought about some decreased emphasis on Native American tribal identity” (Thornton,

1997, p. 39). A rise in “pan-Indianness” appears to have accompanied urbanization and intermarriage with non-Indians. *Pan-Indianism* is variously thought of as identification with a wider intertribal collective of Native people or as a generalized and “detribalized” Indian identity that melds beliefs, values, and practices from various tribal groups, while lacking identification with any specific tribe (Nakao, 2002). Frequently, a pan-Indian identity is pejoratively ascribed to urban Indians living in tribally diverse urban settings, such as those created in major cities by the Relocation process. Straus and Valentino (1998) reflected on the warnings of the late Bob Thomas, a Cherokee and professor at the University of Arizona, that “Indian people are becoming ‘ethnic Indians’ with no tribal knowledge or connection, especially in the intertribal, inter-ethnic urban environment” (p. 103); Thomas feared that tribal identity and knowledge were being replaced by pan-Indianism. Contrary to the negative connotation placed on pan-Indianness by Thomas, Snipp (1992) saw the emergence of pan-Indianism as a unifying factor in urban American Indian communities and “another important factor in the persistence of urban Indian ethnicity” (p. 359).

A common belief running through Indian Country and mainstream America is that American Indians who reside in urban areas are somehow “less Indian” than those individuals residing on reservations and that living in an urban area implies an individual has lost a great deal of cultural connection and understanding of traditional lifeways. Indians in urban areas have been “negatively stereotyped by reservation people as ‘fallen’ or diminished Indians, ‘sell-outs’ who abandoned tribal homeland, practice, politics and problems for the good life in the city” (Straus & Valentino, 1998, p. 109). Urban Indians

are conceptualized by some as being conflicted about their ethnic identity and having little remaining “authentic identity.” Cultural identities of urban Indians are frequently questioned, even to the point of asking whether an American Indian living in an urban area can still be considered “Indian” (Peroff & Wildcat, 2002).

Historically, United States Indian policy has had as its aim the destruction of American Indian culture and the assimilation of Indian people into the dominant culture of the country (Earle, 2000). Many practices resulting from these policies focused on the breakup of tribal, clan, kinship and family structures, for example, the forced removal of Indian children to boarding schools, as well as the removal of as many as 35% of all Indian children from their biological families and their subsequent adoption by non-Indians (Fischler, 1980; Mannes, 1995; Miller, Hoffman, & Turner, 1980). The termination by the U.S. government of the sovereign nation status of many tribes, the subsequent loss of tribal land bases, and the relocation of Indian people from reservations to urban areas further weakened American Indian family and social structures (Cross, Earle, & Simmons, 2000; Halverson, Puig, & Byers, 2002). A significant effect on individuals of these policies has been the loss of traditional cultural knowledge and a dislocation of individuals from the normal sources of cultural transmission, that is, extended family and clan members (Cross, 1986). This is especially true for many American Indians who have lived for significant periods of their lives in urban areas. The resulting cumulative effect of the above-mentioned processes has been that a substantial number of Indian people today have not had the opportunity to develop a strong and positive cultural identity as American Indian.

Urbanization and the increased contact with non-Indians that ensued are thought to have had a significant effect on cultural identity. Rates of intermarriage between Indians and non-Indians have increased almost exponentially since the 1960s and 1970s, hand in hand with urbanization. The 1990 U.S. Census indicated that 60% of all Indians who reported being married said they were married to non-Indians (Sandefur & Liebler, 1997; Thornton, 1997), and it is estimated that approximately 80% of all Indian people today are biracial or multiracial (Eschbach, 1995). The “face” of Indian Country is changing, and for many people, so too are the cultural connections and cultural expressions available to them. American Indians in urban areas are exposed to a mix of cultural groups, and urban American Indian young people often have little access to other Indians or to cultural practices. This may result in their identifying with other ethnic groups in their neighborhoods and communities.

The dominant discourses on Relocation and urbanization tend to implicate these processes as attempts by the dominant culture to break down tribal cultures and assimilate American Indians into the mainstream. Several contemporary authors, however, have begun to conceptualize urbanization as a dynamic process in the evolution and development of distinctively urban Indian communities, which are blending tribal practices and values with their own evolving traditions, cultural practices, and histories (Fixico, 2000; LaGrand, 2002; Lobo, 1998; Weibel-Orlando, 1999). “Urban Indian communities are now experiencing retribalization, and Indian people in cities are reconnecting with their tribes” (Straus & Valentino, 1998, p. 109). Relocation and urbanization, though, continue to be seen as factors that have strongly impacted

individual American Indian cultural identities: “For each individual involved, negotiating his or her cultural identity in this coercive, assimilative process became an extremely difficult struggle” (Blackhawk, 1995, p. 18). The forces of assimilation and resistance (through a strong embracing of cultural values and practices) that contested in the Relocation era remain in contention in the lives of urban Indians; however, the power of the assimilation process may be lessening.

The experience of urban American Indians contradicted assimilationist expectations . . . American Indian resistance to assimilating Euro-American ways has caused social scientists to rethink expectations for this group. Attention has shifted from the anticipated dissolution of Indian culture toward explanations for the apparent persistence and vitality of cultural traditions in urban environments. (Snipp, 1992, p. 359)

Studies have been done examining the Relocation Program and American Indian urbanization process in Chicago (LaGrand, 2002; Neils, 1971), Los Angeles (Price, 1968; Weibel-Orlando, 1999), Minneapolis (Shoemaker, 1988), San Francisco (Ablon, 1964), and Seattle (Chadwick & Strauss, 1975). Graves and VanArsdale (1966) and Graves (1970) specifically studied Navajo Relocates’ adjustment to Denver; however, their work did not touch upon the experiences of Relocates from other tribal groups. A recent doctoral dissertation by Ono (2007) is the first formal study of Relocation and the emergence of the urban Indian community in Denver, Colorado. After presenting archival information on the Relocation Program in Denver, Ono’s study focuses specifically on two contemporary community events, the Denver March Powwow and the Columbus Day protests, more so than retrospectively documenting the lived experiences of Relocates.

Literature on American Indian Cultural Identity

A small but growing body of literature has been emerging, especially since the mid-1990s, that addresses various aspects of American Indian cultural identity. A number of these studies contain very specific information that is relevant to particular findings of the current study rather than to the wider discussion of cultural identity, which is the focus of this literature review. As such, these studies are cited and discussed in the final chapter of this dissertation, leaving this section for a broader examination of the topic.

The literature on American Indian cultural identity, however, appears not to have matured as yet into a cohesive or integrated examination of the topic, and instead appears as a collection of isolated and disconnected articles that cross disciplinary boundaries from sociology to anthropology to nursing and public health to literary and cultural studies, and on to education, social work, and even philosophy. Unlike many other major topics of inquiry in the social sciences (including ethnic or cultural identity in other populations), few studies in this area build upon earlier studies or seek to test the theories presented by other authors.

Furthermore, authors writing within this body of literature present a wide range of conceptualizations of American Indian identity, which range from theoretical models or paradigms (Gone, 2006; Horse, 2001; Mihesuah, 1998; Nagel, 2000; Peroff, 1997; Peroff & Wildcat, 2002) to qualitative studies that examine the experience and meaning of being Native (Barrios & Egan, 2002; Brayboy & Morgan, 1998; Jackson, 1998; Lucero, in press), and even empirical studies that attempt to flesh out not only the components critical to identity (House et al., 2006; Oetting & Beauvais, 1991; Moran et al., 1999), but

also the relationships between those components (Liebler, 2004; Walters, 1999; Whitesell, Mitchell, Kaufman, & Spicer, 2006). This diversity in the array of literature on American Indian cultural identity, in and of itself, is not necessarily problematic, because it allows a broader and more varied examination of thought in the subject area. It does, however, make it more difficult to identify and group studies that present the evolution of scholarly inquiry on the subject.

One distinctive characteristic, which can be identified in this literature, is that the majority of studies or writings address the subject from the perspective of reservation or tribal community-based Indians, often focusing the examination of identity on a specific tribal group. In addition, it is common to find that these same studies also examine identity either in youth or adolescents, or in the elderly, yet again *not* from the perspective of urban Indians. For example, Deyhle (1998) looked at identity in Navajo youth, whereas Newman (2005) measured ethnic identity formation in adolescents from rural Southeastern American Indian communities, and Moran et al. (1999) examined ethnic identity among youth from four separate reservation communities. Likewise, Jackson and Chapleski (2000) studied ethnic identity in elderly Anishinaabeg people, whereas Garrett (1996) presented a case study of identity in an Eastern Cherokee elder, and Gone (2006) discussed cultural identity from the perspective of his Gros Ventre grandmother. Finally, following the line of inquiry seeking to understand cultural identity in specific tribal groups, Lerch and Bullers (1996) examined the relationship between powwows and ethnic identity in the Waccamaw Sioux, a state-recognized tribe in North

Carolina, and Hamill (2003) looked at the importance of blood quantum on Indian identity in Oklahoma tribal people.

An additional feature of a small group of articles on American Indian cultural identity is the attempt to identify and list characteristics that are associated with Indian identity. Again, these articles tend to be either reports of empirical studies or more theoretical pieces that are often based upon the author's tribal worldview, teachings, or experiences. An example of the later can be seen in Horse (2001), who identifies five aspects of identity that are central to his paradigm of Indian identity: (a) being grounded in native language and culture, (b) having a valid genealogical heritage as Indian, (c) embracing a worldview derived from traditions, (d) having an idea of one's self as an Indian, and (e) being recognized as an official member of a tribe. While conducting a review for her 1998 article, Gonzales found various literature that listed criteria similar to the aspects mentioned above by Horse, including (a) residence on a reservation, (b) tribal enrollment, (c) tribal language fluency, and (d) the practice of various aspects of traditional spirituality. Lerch and Bullers (1996) likewise identified 17 traditional identity markers in their sample of Waccamaw Sioux, which through a factor analysis fell into four broad categories, including (a) being recognized as an Indian person by others in the community, (b) having Indian heritage as a Waccamaw, (c) living in the tribal community, and (d) owning land in the tribal community. Additional dimensions or characteristics of cultural identity discussed in similar literature include (a) connection with other Indian people; (b) cultural knowledge; (c) engagement in cultural practices;

and (d) attitudes, worldview, and values (Hoffman, Dana, & Bolton, 1985; King, 1992; LaFramboise & Dizon, 2003; Phinney, 1990; Smedley & Smedley, 2005).

Studies such as those just mentioned, which list characteristics of Indian identity, have been criticized as essentialistic or simplistic renditions that posit identity independent of its unfolding social nature (Gone, 2006). In an attempt to address these criticisms, a small number of researchers have conducted qualitative studies seeking to explicate identity, based upon participant narratives and emergent themes. For example, in their 2002 qualitative study, Barrios and Egan found that “experiencing alienation—otherness and experiencing competing cultural values” (p. 216) were two characteristics of American Indian cultural identity in their sample (which did include urban-based Indians). Jackson and Chapleski (2000), in a mixed-methods study, discussed three important markers of cultural identity among their sample of Anishinaabe: (a) having language fluency; (b) participating in cultural activities, such as powwows, sweats, and making traditional crafts; and (c) being given an Indian name. In one of the most recent studies in the American Indian cultural identity literature, House et al. (2006) identified, through a qualitative analysis, 6 major themes (i.e., traditions, legacy, physical and language characteristics, values, hardships, and community) and 17 subthemes related to tribal and pan-American Indian ethnic identity. This study is discussed in greater depth below (see pp. 41-42), because it specifically looked at these identity characteristics in an urban Indian sample.

With the development of their orthogonal cultural identification theory, Oetting and Beauvais (1991) lay a foundation for cultural identity measurement using

dimensional models, thereby providing a structure for several commonly cited studies of American Indian cultural identity that were to follow, including Weaver (1996), Moran et al. (1999), and Clark and Mendoza (2002). Oetting and Beauvais' orthogonal model assessed how strongly individuals were linked to their own perceptions of what it meant to be American Indian. The orthogonal model classified individuals as "traditional," "assimilated," "bicultural," or "marginalized," by assessing the extent to which they identified with both Indian and White values (Moran et al.) and allowed for the possibility of identification with both mainstream culture and Indian culture by asking respondents to indicate their degree of affinity with both Indian and White questions.

Moran et al. (1999) tested Oetting and Beauvais' model in a factor analytic study with a large sample of American Indian adolescents ($n = 1,592$). The authors extracted a two-factor model, with items represented by two independent factors: Indian Identity and White Identity. Although coming close to a significant fit, a confirmatory factor analysis run to test the structure, found through the exploratory factory analysis, could not confirm the structure.

Studies using the orthogonal model have, to date, not addressed how individuals come to hold the values associated with their classification categories. This renders them vulnerable to criticisms, such as Gone's (2006) contention that "multidimensional models still require the distillation of complex information to a few points along the continua [and remain unable to] render a satisfying account of lived cultural identities" (p. 63).

The majority of studies reviewed to this point have not expressly addressed cultural identity in urban American Indians. In the section below, a review of the seven

key studies, from 1976 to 2006, that have looked specifically at cultural identity in urban American Indians is presented and discussed.

Urban Indians and Cultural Identity

Wagner (1976) conducted one of the first post-Relocation-era studies to investigate changes in cultural identification in a group of urban Indians. This study looked at a sample of 17 American Indian women who had been born and lived on a reservation and who had moved to New York City at some point in their lives from adolescence forward. Wagner specifically focused on identifying the role that intermarriage to a non-Indian husband played in the acculturative process. This author appears to consider the acculturation of American Indians to be a natural or inevitable end product of urbanization and intermarriage as “a means or an end in the acculturative process” (p. 215).

Wagner’s study has similarities to later studies using dimensional models of cultural identification, because the author placed respondents in one of three categories as a result of obtaining life history information: “(1) Tradition-oriented [those who followed traditional values]; (2) Transitional [those who identified with their tribal group but evidenced more dominant culture values than traditional values]; and (3) American middle class [those who identified with the dominant culture]” (p. 219). Findings indicated that having a White husband was the most powerful force in acculturating an Indian woman to the dominant culture and its values and practices. Having a White father or grandfather and having an Indian parent who had previously chosen to abandon his or her culture were also “white American cultural maximizers” (p. 219) that strengthened

the acculturative process. In contrast, maintaining extended family relationships with kin living on the reservation was the most important modifier of this acculturative process; although, unless coupled with marriage to an Indian man, this cultural aspect appeared to make little impact on the acculturative process. In the final analysis, all women who fell into Wagner's Traditional category were married to Indians, whereas all of those in the other two categories were married to White men, leading the author to conclude that intermarriage of urban Indian women and White men could be considered as "an independent measure of acculturation" (p. 228).

As was noted in an earlier section of this review, there is a general belief that the urban environment is a foreign place for American Indians and that something inherent to the city negatively affects American Indians' emotional and psychological well-being and cultural identification. Grandbois and Schadt's (1994) study reflected this concern about well-being and identification as it sought to explore the subjective experience of alienation, defined as "feelings of powerlessness, social isolation, and normlessness" (p. 212) and its relationship to Indian identity in a sample of 53 urban Indians, 60% of whom had lived in an urban area for more than 20 years.

In Grandbois and Schadt's (1994) study, Indian identity was measured by variables, such as individuals' (a) degree of Indian blood, (b) fluency in both Native language and English, (c) amount of social interaction with Indians or non-Indians, (d) level of pride in being Indian, and (e) "perceptions of themselves in gradation from Native American to White" (p. 213). Findings analyzed over the total sample indicated no significant correlation between total alienation scores and any identity indicator, but

did find a significant negative correlation between the alienation subscale scores on isolation and the demographic characteristics of both age and years in the city. When the sample was analyzed by gender, a significant correlation between the subscale scores for powerlessness and percentage of Indian blood was found for Indian women, and again, a significant negative correlation between isolation subscale scores and the two demographic variables of years in the city and age was also found for women. The authors suggested that further research that would seek to explain these gender differences be undertaken, but to date, no further studies in this area could be identified in the literature.

Weaver (1996) tested Oetting and Beauvais' orthogonal model of cultural identification in a study of 103 American Indian youth ages 8 to 12 who resided in the Northeastern United States. Five of seven sites where data were collected were non-reservation agencies that served American Indians, and two sites were in reservation settings; thus it may be assumed that the sample consisted of a mix of urban and reservation young people. Data were collected using questions from Oetting and Beauvais' (1991) orthogonal cultural identification scale, which assessed which cultures respondents identified with, as well as the strength of those identifications. Findings indicated that many of these Native young people identified strongly with more than one culture—most often American Indian and White or African American, supporting the premise of the orthogonal model that an individual may identify simultaneously with more than one culture. However, extensive variation was found to exist among sites as to

how strongly respondents identified with both Indian culture and the other culture or cultures with which they identified.

One of the pivotal and most frequently cited studies on urban American Indian cultural identity is Walter's (1999) study of identity attitudes and acculturation, in which she found that acculturation was not synonymous with identity in a sample of 310 urban American Indian adults. This author argued that urban American Indian acculturation and identity attitudes were two very different constructs, which have been erroneously linked in much of the research on American Indian acculturation. In this study, however, Walters did not specifically identify factors that may lead urban Indian individuals to develop and maintain a certain stance or attitude toward their identity as American Indian, although it was found that "internalized negative attitudes about oneself as an Indian do not necessarily predict identification with dominant culture behaviors" (p. 175).

The concept of "identity attitudes" (p. 166), which was at the foundation of Walters' 1999 study, was based upon an earlier model of urban American Indian identity developed by this author (Walters, 1995, 1997). This model of urban American Indian identity (UAI) included self-identity, group identity, the urban context, and urban Indians' "historical relationship with the dominant group environment and institutional responses" (Walters, 1999, p. 166). The UAI is a stage-approach model of identity development in which an individual progressed through four stages of identity in order to achieve integrated identity attitudes and healthy psychological buffers. Embedded in the four stages were five identity attitude dimensions: political, ethnic, racial, cultural, and spiritual.

Likewise, participants in a qualitative study by Lucero (in press) reported progressing through four developmental-like stages in which a sense of self as American Indian grew through an increased understanding of American Indian/tribal history and cultural practices and immersion and connection with other American Indian people. Again, similar to Walters (1999), the fourth and final stage concluded with respondents' reporting a sense of understanding and having integrated their American Indian identities into their self-schemas, and in turn, feeling a sense of emotional, psychological, and spiritual well-being.

In a study aimed at exploring differences between American Indian and Hispanic women on identity and gender aspects, Prindeville (2003) examined racial/ethnic identity and political involvement of a group of American Indian and Hispanic women leaders in New Mexico. This study found four distinct categories that respondents used to express their racial/ethnic identification: (a) self-labeling by race/ethnicity, (b) racial/ethnic consciousness, (c) racial/ethnic salience, and (d) cultural motivation. The American Indian sample in this study, which was not aimed specifically at those living on reservations or in tribal communities, consisted of 50 women from 17 different Native nations who were either public officials or grassroots political activists. Prindeville found that these women identified themselves by the name of their tribe and viewed racial/ethnic identity as more important than gender identity, whereas among Hispanic respondents, gender identity was most salient. In addition, American Indian respondents reported that their political efforts were motivated by "efforts to preserve their

racial/ethnic and cultural identities in the face of tremendous pressures to assimilate into American mainstream society” (p. 603).

In the final study on urban Indian cultural identity to be reviewed here, House et al. (2006) sought to confirm ethnic identity constructs from previously developed instruments, identify new ethnic identity constructs, and examine how identity constructs differed by age and context, as well as how these constructs were transmitted to new generations. In this qualitative study involving interviews with 24 respondents 13 to 90 years of age, 6 major themes (traditions, legacy, physical and language characteristics, values, hardships, and community) and 17 subthemes related to tribal and pan-American Indian ethnic identity emerged. American Indian ethnic identity constructs that were confirmed in this study included bicultural identity, cultural practices and traditions, ability to speak and understand tribal language, and spirituality. Newly identified ethnic identity constructs not widely used in previous instruments were hardship, limited resources, discrimination, and historical trauma. Although all three generational groups (grandparents, parents, and youth) spoke of similar themes, the authors reported that age differences among the three groups of participants did influence which identity constructs were seen as important. Two related themes that appeared to be especially salient, regardless of age group, were “recognizing oneself as a part of the community and valuing the community over oneself” (p. 404).

Cultural Connectedness

The construct, cultural connectedness (or cultural connections), appears only in isolated instances in a search of the social science literature, but lacks definition,

explication, or discussion. For example, Long, Downs, Gillette, Kills in Sight, & Iron-Cloud Konen (2006) mentioned briefly in several places in their article the importance of connections with culture for American Indian youth in foster care, yet did not define what constitutes these connections nor how they are achieved. In another instance, Edwards (2003) uses the term, cultural connection, in the title of an article (“Cultural Connection and Transformation: Substance Abuse Treatment at Friendship House”), yet in the body of the article, fails to use the term again or explain its usage in the title. Instead, the article discusses a substance abuse treatment program’s experiences related to incorporating into their services a process called “retraditionalization” (p. 53) in which American Indian clients return to the use of traditional cultural forms of healing.

Hill (2006) posited that a dimension of relatedness is the concept of “sense of belonging as connectedness” (p. 210), and she explores this concept as it is understood within what she refers to as “the American Indian worldview.” Hill’s American Indian worldview appears to contain a pan-tribal or universal blending of indigenous beliefs and values, and as such, is not identified as deriving from the belief system of any particular tribal group or groups. The author explained that, “the dominant nature of the American Indian worldview is relational and consists primarily of connections among persons and the environment” (p. 210). By extension, one might assume that the author would contend that among American Indians, cultural connectedness arises as a result of certain types of relationships that an individual has in his or her life. Lowery (1998), similar to Hill, focused on feelings of belongingness and identified, for example, that one respondent in her ethnography of urban Indian men in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, had

achieved a sense of belongingness through the relationships he formed by returning to an Indian community during his recovery from substance abuse. In his narrative, this respondent described himself as “connected here” (p. 382) in reference to the Indian community; yet more detail on what constituted or brought about this connectedness is lacking.

Again, similar to Hill, the relational connectedness inherent in American Indian values emerged as a theme in Silvey’s (1999) examination of firstborn American Indian daughters. Participants in this study recounted their struggles to reclaim their cultural identity when living in a family where adaptation and assimilation into the dominant culture was stressed and where parents and grandparents had experienced forced assimilation and biculturalism as a result of their boarding school experiences. Throughout the article, the process these women were involved in was referred to as reclaiming “cultural and self-identity” (p. 73); however, near the end of the article, the author used the term “culturally connected” for the first time, when she wrote, “For these women, becoming culturally connected when all the external forces—namely, environmental and familial systems—were urging them to negate their culture took a great deal of effort” (p. 92). It appears that at this point, the author used the concepts “becoming culturally connected” and “identifying with American Indian culture” to signify a single mode of self-development in which actualization depends, in good part, upon resolving issues of relational connectedness with significant family members.

Gaps in the Literature on Urban American Indian Cultural Connectedness and Cultural Identity

As quickly becomes obvious, specific attention to the construct of cultural connectedness in American Indians is absent from the social science literature, although, interestingly, in the current study, this was a concept familiar to the participants and one which they had little trouble discussing in depth, as mentioned earlier. A great deal of attention has been paid to both the historical events leading to the near destruction of American Indian peoples and the assimilative processes, such as forced boarding school attendance (Adams, 1995; Hoxie, 1989), tribal termination and Relocation (Burt, 1982; Fixico, 1986; Olson & Wilson, 1984), and wide-spread adoption of Indian children to non-Indians (Byler, 1977; Cross et al., 2000; George, 1997), used in attempts to eradicate Indian culture. Numerous authors, including Brave Heart (1999, 2000, 2004), Braveheart and DeBruyn (1998), Duran and Duran (1995), Manson, Beals, and O'Neill (1996), Tafoya and Del Vecchio (1996) and Weaver and Braveheart (1999), have posited that these processes resulted in considerable cultural disconnection and trauma, which have become especially manifest in current generations. It is surprising, then, that in light of the cultural revitalization and self-determination efforts that began in the 1960s and 1970s, and continue to the present, so few detailed and in-depth examinations of the ways in which contemporary American Indians maintain a sense of cultural connectedness exist.

In an attempt to address this gap, this current dissertation research is offered as a starting point where the details gleaned from participant narratives may begin to help in

defining the cognitive, affective, and behavioral dimensions of cultural connectedness. Additional gaps in the literature related to this study are identified in the following discussion.

Common experience shows that many urban Indians do develop strong connections to their Native cultures and cultural identities, however the current literature falls short at adequately describing the types of experiences or human interactions that may play a role in that development. Although Cheshire (2001) and Wagner (1976) explored cultural transmission in urban families—a process that includes elements of connectedness and identity—their focus was on families who had significant ties to their tribal communities and where parents were strongly identified with their Native cultures.

Whereas much theorizing on American Indian identity exists in the literature, few studies have directly asked American Indian people about the processes or conditions through which they came to know themselves as being Indian and developed an American Indian identity. In addition, little research on American Indian identity has addressed the affective and psychological components of identity, and as Walters (1999) notes, “The literature on American Indian identity focuses primarily on behavioral measures of self-identification as measures of Indian identity” (p. 166). Gone (2006), also, points out that both American Indian identity theories and the existing research in this area have failed to provide a conceptualization of cultural identity based upon respondents’ lived experiences of that identity. There has yet to be a study of American Indian identity that attempts to identify both the affective and behavioral components of identity and the relationship between them, although the current study is just such an

attempt, and does so through data derived from the lived experiences of urban American Indians, as strongly called for by Gone.

Few studies have looked at Indian identity across the stages of the life span or compared identity in different generational groups of American Indians. Although House et al. (2006) identified some generational differences in identity factors in an urban Indian sample, two earlier studies comparing the cultural identities of generational groups with tribally-based samples appear to be some of the first inquiries of this kind to be done. Schulz (1998) began this line of investigation with her study that identified generational differences in cultural identity among Navajo women that could be tied to political and contextual factors; and Jackson and Chapleski (2000) noted differences in identity factors among cohorts of elderly Anishinaabeg women, again related to historical and contextual processes.

A significant gap in the knowledge of the American Indian urbanization process is the understanding of its intergenerational effects on Relocates' children and subsequent generations. No study exists to date which directly examines the generational impact of urbanization on cultural identity or compares generational differences in cultural identity and cultural connectedness between Relocates and their children and grandchildren.

Absent also from the social science disciplines' examinations of the American Indian urbanization process are studies that add to the understanding of how urban American Indians, whose families have been living in urban areas for several generations, develop and maintain their cultural identities as individuals or how identity develops in those who do not maintain strong ties to their tribal cultures or reservations/tribal

communities. Again, this current qualitative study is intended to add this component to the body of literature on the urban Indian experience, as it begins to identify ways that the cultural identity as well as the cultural connectedness of American Indians may be evolving over generations as a result of urban residence. Towards this end, the following questions have been explored: (a) “How do urban American Indians construct and maintain their cultural identities?” (b) “What strategies (i.e., cognitive, behavioral, emotional and/or spiritual) do urban American Indians employ to achieve a sense of being connected to their specific tribal and/or a generalized American Indian culture?” and (c) “What differences related to cultural identity and cultural connectedness can be found between generations of American Indians whose families have maintained long-term residence in an urban area?”

CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY

Study Design

The phenomenological design of this study was developed in alignment with generally accepted social science principles for conducting qualitative and phenomenological research. The study was designed to examine changes over generations in the cultural identity and cultural connectedness of American Indians whose families had lived continuously in an urban area for 3 to 4 generations. Five families, each from a different tribe and who had resided permanently in Denver, Colorado, were selected to participate in the study. Data were collected through an in-depth interview using narrative inquiry strategies, with at least one member representing each of the 3 or 4 generations of these families, and analyzed through the process of the phenomenological reduction.

Originally, each of the participant families was to have had a family member or members who had relocated from a reservation to Denver as a result of participation in the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) Voluntary Relocation Program (also referred to as Relocation, Relocation Program, or the Program) at a point between its inception in the early 1950s through its eventual end in the mid-1970s. Relocation families were considered to comprise the sample, because it was thought that they best represented a group of American Indians with long-term and stable urban residence.

The criteria for inclusion in the study sample was modified during the recruitment stage, after an Indian community informant shared with me that American Indian families had actually begun to come to Denver on their own to settle permanently, prior to the Relocation Program and during the period immediately following World War II (1945-1949) (R. Williams, personal communication, February 14, 2008). It was also learned from community members that American Indians were relocating to Denver on their own, alongside participants in the Relocation Program, during the years that the Program was in operation. This expanded view of American Indian urbanization in Denver, Colorado, led to modifying the criteria for inclusion in the study to families in which the member of Generation 1 had left his or her reservation or tribal community and come to live permanently in Denver beginning as early as 1945, and in ways other than through the Relocation Program. A minor change to the design was also made in the case of one participant family, which involved capturing family members' perspectives on the research phenomena on behalf of members of Generation 3 who were too young to participate in an interview.

Rationale for Choice of Qualitative Methodology and a Phenomenological Approach

American Indians living in American cities exist as a largely unseen group (Jojola, 2000; Lobo, 1998). Their experiences remain relatively unexplored compared to those of Indians living on reservations or other ethnic minorities in urban areas, and as a result, are poorly understood. A good deal of past as well as current social science research has privileged the reservation-based American Indian perspective, and this has

also contributed to reinforcing the invisibility of urban Indian people and the marginalization of their communities. The qualitative research tradition holds promise as a vehicle to bring visibility to the experiences of this group of American Indian people. Qualitative methodologies can be responsive to the cultural differences between reservation or other tribal communities and urban American Indian communities; the results of these studies can begin to build a body of detailed and intimate knowledge of urban American Indians and their communities that reflects the lived experiences of these individuals.

Qualitative designs, with their focus on capturing participant perspectives in naturalistic settings (Creswell, 1998), offer opportunities to conduct in-depth explorations of the experiences of American Indian people living in urban settings that can lead to increased understanding of this population. The detailed descriptions of participants' lived experiences that emerge from these designs are also essential to building a foundation for future explanatory research and theory building about the urban American Indian experience. Strickland (1999) contends that qualitative research methodologies hold promise for uncovering culturally relevant and culturally based ways of "conceptualizing and developing theoretical paradigms that are grounded in the collective experiences of those participating in the study" (p. 518).

Qualitative methodologies may be more congruent with Native means of communication, exploration, and inquiry than are the positivistic and measurement-oriented means of inquiry at the foundation of most quantitative research methodologies. Native life and Native communication is at its heart relational (Cross, 1997). Storytelling,

a tradition in many Native traditions (Diaz & Sawatzky, 1995; Garrett, 1996), for example, is aimed at not only sharing information but drawing the listener into a position of relationship with the storyteller in order that he or she may learn from a deeper message inherent in the story. Qualitative designs and methodologies, especially those using in-depth narrative interviewing, seek the deeper meaning in participants' stories and require a level of trust and relationship to do so. Thus, the use of qualitative methodologies in studies with Native participants may allow them to communicate with the researcher in ways that are more comfortable and familiar than are many quantitative data-gathering processes.

Native participants may be reluctant to disclose personal information to a stranger, especially one who is non-Native (Lucero, 2007a). Compared to those of quantitative approaches, qualitative data collection and interviewing procedures provide some increased flexibility that can allow for multiple interview contacts. Repeated interactions with the researcher can give Native participants both the time and space needed to build the trust, familiarity, and relationship with the interviewer needed to feel comfortable sharing what can be very personal, intimate, emotional, or painful revelations.

The emergent nature and flexibility of qualitative methodologies also allow designs to be responsive and able to incorporate previously unidentified elements of the urban Indian experience that surface as participants' stories unfold. This is especially important, because, as noted above, the vast majority of social science research conducted with American Indians has been done with reservation or tribal community-

based peoples, and little effort has been given to identifying differences in experiences between urban American Indians and their reservation-based counterparts.

A descriptive phenomenological mode of inquiry was employed in this study. This approach focuses on descriptions of what people experience, assumes that “there is an essence or essences to shared experience” (Patton, 2002, p. 106), and supports a belief in the commonality of human experiences. The *epoche*—the inhibiting of previous knowledge and experience and the setting aside of preconceived notions of how things are (Moustakas, 1994)—and drive to return to “things themselves” (Husserl, 1970/1900, p. 252) at the heart of the phenomenological approach, position the methodology as a mode of discovery rather than verification (Giorgi, 1985), whose aim is “presuppositionless description” (Giorgi, 1975b, p. 101), and the exposition of “how meaning presents itself in experience” (Polkinghorne, 1989, p. 45).

Giorgi (1992) contended that “in situations of basic research, description should have epistemological primacy because of its consistency with respect to the evidence” (p. 131). Description, in a phenomenological sense, is the “clarification of the meaning of the objects of experience precisely as experienced” (Giorgi, p. 122). A phenomenological study should seek to “grasp and elucidate the meaning, structure, and essence of a lived experience of a phenomenon for a person or group of people” (Patton, 2002, p. 482). Moustakas (1994) situated the phenomenological approach as “a return to experience in order to obtain comprehensive descriptions that provide the basis for a reflective structural analysis that portrays the essences of the experience” (p. 13).

The focus on description inherent in the phenomenological approach permits the phenomena under study to begin to emerge through each participant's construction of the narrative of his or her experience. Qualitative research studies employing a descriptive phenomenological approach focus on an individual's experiences and engagement with a particular phenomenon in order to identify the underlying meaning structures contained within the individual's engagement with the phenomenon under study (Creswell, 1998; Moustakas, 1994; Polkinghorne, 1989). Structures reveal an understanding of participants' experiences by reducing the details within a description to uncover the heart or foundation of the experience. These structures are variously referred to by phenomenological researchers as the meaning essences (von Eckartsberg, 1986), essential invariant meanings (W. Fischer, 1970), necessary constituents (van Kaam, 1966), invariant connected meanings (Giorgi & Giorgi, 2003), invariant constituents (Moustakas), phenomenological earmarks (C. Fischer, 1971), or the presences (Giorgi, 2003; Sokolowski, 1985) of the phenomenon contained within those experiences. Individual narratives considered together, in turn, reveal major themes and general meanings that are not necessarily universal, but rather point to the general underlying shared structures of consciousness of the phenomena.

Understanding how urban American Indians construct, maintain, and strengthen their cultural identity, as well as the ways in which they feel a sense of connectedness to Indian culture were the goals of the current qualitative study. These goals are congruent with the aims of identifying and describing the subjective experiences of individuals,

which lie at the foundation of contemporary, and especially North American, phenomenology (Schwandt, 2001).

Although it is this author's belief that qualitative studies provide meaningful, valid, and relevant data that can stand powerfully in their own right, these studies can also be helpful in providing the groundwork and direction for future quantitative studies. Patton (2002) contended that qualitative studies, such as the current one, provide a "beginning point for research" (p. 193) in new areas of inquiry, and Creswell (1998) suggested that qualitative studies are appropriate when needing to identify variables and begin the process of theory development.

To date, few quantitative studies have been conducted with sample sizes of urban American Indians large enough to yield significant and generalizable results, although the findings of such studies could be helpful to social work practitioners and others working with American Indians who live predominantly in urban areas. It is anticipated that the identified meaning structures of the phenomena of interest in the current study—cultural identity and cultural connectedness of urban American Indians—will lead to increased understanding of urban American Indians and their communities. In addition, such meaning structures can be used to develop research hypotheses and identify variables for testing in future quantitative studies that may uncover additional dimensions of the population under study and can test the effects, relationships, or interactions of identified variables in particular settings or under specific conditions.

Conducting Research With American Indians and Their Communities

In reviewing the literature on research with American Indian participants and in Indian communities, one becomes immediately aware of the presence of a powerful discourse that warns of the dangers to Native peoples and their cultures posed by researchers and academics, and positions such research as a politicized endeavor (Brayboy & Deyhle, 2000). American Indian research participants and their cultures have been considered as objects of study, to be defined from the perspectives of others (Chester, Robin, Koss, Lopez, & Goldman, 1994). Thus the voices of Native research participants are considered not to have been truly heard due to their marginalization by the dominant society (Kenny, 2006).

Researchers are seen to have exploited Indians by extracting knowledge and information that has given them professional accolades and advancement, while giving nothing back to Native people and communities (Zinn, 1979). Other discussions of research in Indian Country point out that Indian people consider scholarly research to be irrelevant to their lives and realities (Bubar & Jumper Thurman, 2004) and that researchers come into communities, collect what they need, and then vanish—most times failing to even report any part of their findings back to participants and communities (Weaver, 1997).

The entire research endeavor, when it involves American Indians, is considered by some to re-create colonial relationships of power and domination, and stir up bad memories from the past (Smith as cited by Kenny, 2006). Kenny takes this concept to an

extreme in warning that “now the sins of the colonizers are not the only danger” (p. 554), because Native academics and researchers, who have internalized the stance of the oppressor due to their desire to be a part of mainstream academia, will necessarily conduct their studies from this stance.

Undeniably, American Indians and other indigenous peoples have been the victims of egregious abuses and exploitation in the pursuit of research aims, even in the not so distant past. However, one must challenge the continued persistence of the belief that research conducted in conjunction with Native people continues, in a widespread way, to re-create colonial relationships of power and domination, and to be used solely to enhance the professional reputation of the researcher at the expense of the community involved.

Guevarra (2006) presented a counterdiscourse by pointing out that “participants are not passive recipients of researchers’ intellectual agendas” (p. 530). She argued that power in research endeavors is not possessed entirely by the researcher, and that this stance is consistent with the recognition of Native peoples as self-determining and empowered agents, who can control indigenous epistemologies and the use of the knowledge that flows from them. There has been a growing demand that when conducting studies with Native people, researchers employ methodologies that are built upon, incorporate, and respect Native values (Harala, Smith, Hassel, & Gailfus, 2005; Sobeck, Chapleski, & Fisher, 2003).

An indigenous approach, which includes extensive participation in the research process by the subjects of a study, such as that outlined by Hudson and Taylor-Henley

(2001), is an example of a model of doing Native research that holds promise for addressing the concerns listed above. It also provides an additional counter to the discourse of research abuse, exploitation, and irrelevancy by reconceptualizing the process (Kenny, Faries, Fisk, & Voyageur, 2004) as one that may instead benefit Native people and communities. Further, such an approach builds a body of evidence that challenges the belief that most research is irrelevant to the actualities of Native life and, as a result, creates little benefit to Native people.

One goal of the current exploratory study was to share the voices of urban Native people and find within them directions for future research on urban Indians and their communities. It is envisioned that this future research will continue to develop and expand upon current research methodologies that incorporate Native values and worldviews. Moreover, it will not only produce findings that highlight the strengths, challenges, and needs of this population, but also provide urban Indian people with opportunities to engage in the production of knowledge about themselves and their sociocultural world that they deem to be relevant and needed.

The Role and Stance of the Researcher

When reporting on their qualitative studies, researchers are encouraged to be as open as possible about their position in relation to the research participants, as well as the philosophical stance and theoretical lenses from which they approach a particular research endeavor (Patton, 2002). The use of the phenomenological method in itself implies a particular stance toward the objects of consciousness and the experiential world that has been explicated above. In the subsections that follow, I disclose and discuss my

position as an insider researcher, describe strategies I employed for bracketing personal experience, and present the theoretical stances through which I understand the social location of urban Indians and their relationships to their reservation-based counterparts, their tribes (as political entities), and the dominant culture. It is my hope that this information will assist those examining the findings of this research to judge their validity and credibility.

Conducting Research as an Insider

I am an insider researcher, an urban Indian person studying the community in which I grew up and continue to live. I am also an insider in the respect that, while living in an urban area, I have been involved, like the study participants, in the process of developing, negotiating, and maintaining an American Indian cultural identity.

Qualitative researchers across the social science disciplines have debated the insider-outsider dichotomy for more than 30 years (Labaree, 2002). On one side of the debate, insider status is considered to convey, through a foundation of shared experience between researcher and researched, certain “empirical and methodological advantages” (Zinn, 1979, p. 212) not available to a researcher from outside the community. Among these advantages are increased or even privileged access to members of the insider’s community (Labaree; Merton, 1972); greater knowledge of the community and sensitivity to the people being studied (Swisher, 1986); increased ability to develop rapport with participants (Guevarra, 2006); a heightened or specialized ability to interpret and describe the culture of the group or community (Ohnuki-Tierney, 1984); and an increased ability to understand cultural norms, relate appropriately per normative rules,

respond to culture-based verbal and non-verbal cues, and identify and interpret communication patterns unique to the culture or group (Haniff, 1985).

On the other side of the debate, the main objection and challenge to the advantages cited above rests in the contention that the closeness of the insider researcher to research participants and his or her position of subjectivity in relation to what is being studied will introduce bias at various stages of the research endeavor, especially in sample selection and “during data gathering and interpretation” (Zinn, 1979, p. 213). Hammersley and Atkinson (1996) warned that insider researchers are susceptible to “over-rapport” (p. 110) with participants, which may lead to misinterpretations of what is contained in the data; these authors argue that only with the distance inherent in the outsider researcher can data analysis be free from the distortions of this form of bias.

Labaree (2002) identified that there are hidden dilemmas that affect insider researchers. These include (a) determining how to position oneself with his or her community as both a researcher and a member, (b) determining how to deal with finding oneself positioned by participants in a non-researcher role, (c) disclosing motives and ways in which the research will be used, and (d) being able to disengage from the researcher role once a study is completed. Brayboy, in relating his experience as a qualitative researcher and American Indian, spoke about struggling with reconciling the requirements of rigorous scientific inquiry with “what it means to be a ‘good Indian’” (as cited in Brayboy & Dehyle, 2000, p. 164). Although it would continue this discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of being an insider researcher beyond the general scope of this section, it should be acknowledged that insider status is considered by some not as

a given but rather as a negotiated and/or continually changing position (de Andrade, 2000; Guevarra, 2006; Lundy & McGovern, 2006).

Increasingly, qualitative researchers addressing the insider-outsider debate are recognizing that both positions involve challenges and advantages. Maykovich (1977) insisted that although insiders are not necessarily free from the obstacles faced by outsiders studying the same community, their engagement with the obstacles has a distinctive quality. For example, the most important benefit of insider status is often considered to be increased access to participants (Merton, 1972). However, even though I had access to large numbers of potential participants, I still faced challenges in recruiting participants (see pp. 78-82). This experience highlights that even with insider access, there were distinctive challenges related to entering people's lives as a researcher that impacted this access.

In the case of research in communities of color and with historically oppressed populations, there is general agreement that cultural insiders possess some greater ability to identify areas of needed research, generate hypotheses, and "ask questions and gather information others could not" (Zinn, 1979, p. 212). Brayboy and Dehyle (2000) argued that in their experience, their research findings have been enhanced by the "lack of distance" (p. 165) associated with their insider status. Confirming this view, there is general agreement in the most current literature on research with Native participants and in Native communities that the most appropriate and sensitive research is being conducted by Native researchers in collaboration with Native participants (Harala, Smith, Hassel & Gailfus, 2005; Kenny, 2006; Mail, Connor, & Connor, 2006). Moreover, future

research on topics directly related to American Indians should be conducted by researchers who are members of this group.

Strategies for Bracketing and Managing Insider Bias

For some critics, my insiderness may call into question my objectivity, while for others it may be seen as giving me the ability to see nuances of the phenomena that those more distanced might not see. One strategy I have employed throughout the study, and particularly during the phenomenological reduction and other data analysis phases, to control for potential bias was to constantly remind myself that the data with which I was working represented the verbal descriptions in participants' narratives, not my own thoughts and ideas. When I was sensing that I had arrived at important insights, I directed myself to check back to the data for their source. I continually reminded myself of Giorgi's contention that a rigorous phenomenological analysis must involve participants' "unprejudiced verbal descriptions as data" (von Eckartsberg, 1986, p. 56) in order to yield objective and trustworthy findings.

I have identified three ways in which I sought to bracket my own experiences with the study phenomena. First, my insiderness was the topic of countless discussions with colleagues and hours of self-reflection prior to beginning this research endeavor in an attempt to bracket my biases, so that it would truly be participants' stories of their experiences that revealed the structures and meanings of the phenomena being examined in this study.

Second, during interviewing, I utilized a technique learned from my training as a psychotherapist. I would "sit myself beside myself" as I listened to a participant's story.

Accomplishing this involves a type of splitting of oneself into a listening and reflecting side, and a side that can react emotionally to what is heard. The listening and reflecting side also has the job of hearing and registering the emotions of its counterpart, while keeping these emotions separate from the participant's content, so that they may be acknowledged and analyzed later. In psychotherapy, this is one way in which therapists become aware of *countertransference*, which in its most broad conception can be defined as both the positive and the negative feelings, thoughts, and emotions that arise in a therapist as a result of working with a particular client (Watkins, 1985). I discovered that research interviewing as an insider involves a phenomenon similar to countertransference; therefore the process described herein allowed me to keep this from becoming something that could bias the direction of the interview and the resultant data. (Please see p. 90 for more discussion of research countertransference.)

The third technique I utilized in bracketing was to work with two documents open on my computer, while conducting the reduction and analysis. The first document contained the data with which I was working at the time, and the second document was an ongoing analysis journal. I used this journal to process and examine ideas that arose as I was conducting the phenomenological reduction, as a way to help me maintain a separation between participants' words and my ideas and interpretations, and avoid being unconsciously carried away into my own thoughts during the reduction process.

Thinking about and discussing my biases and preconceptions prior to beginning this study highlighted for me the challenge of being a Native person who was attempting to study Native experiences, incorporate Native voices, and generate Native knowledge,

using a process that is firmly rooted within a system based upon the epistemic privilege held by the dominant culture. For example, the concept of scientific—or research—objectivity seems to be somewhat irrelevant or unrealistic when considered from the standpoint of certain Native beliefs and values, such as those that emphasize respect for, and non-interference with, the experience of others, or that stress the power that hearing stories can have on fundamentally altering the one that hears. These and other differences in the ways in which knowledge is generated in Native cultures illustrate the ongoing challenge in this research process of finding a culturally appropriate research position that incorporated the phenomenological process of *epoche* with the value placed on relatedness and shared experience in Native cultures.

In the end, I believe that the descriptive phenomenological approach used to analyze the data, combined with my experience of being an urban American Indian person (which I share with study participants), and my passion and commitment to bringing to awareness the wide range of ways in which the urban Indian experience is expressed, allowed me to see nuances, complexity, and contradictions within the data that others would not have seen, thus strengthening the findings. Specific strategies employed to increase the validity, credibility, and trustworthiness of the study findings are addressed in the final section of this chapter (please see pp. 105-108).

Theoretical Stance of the Researcher

This research endeavor proceeded from the theoretical assumption that powerful discursive forces exist in the social order which sanction and legitimize particular relationships of power in areas of race, ethnicity, gender, and class. *Discourse*, as the

term is used herein and within most poststructuralist contexts in the social sciences (Threadgold, 2000), refers to sets of statements about an object, event, or construct that have become the accepted way of understanding the particular phenomenon and have attained the power to create certain truth or knowledge. Discourses function within institutionalized relationships of power, where they are created, legitimized, perpetuated, and/or discouraged. As such, I came to this research endeavor with a foundational belief that, when speaking (or writing) of the experiences of Native people in the United States and of Native identity, one must always examine the workings of relationships of power (both those of Native people when positioned in relationship to the dominant culture and those of groups of Native people positioned in relationship to one another). It follows, then, that to speak of Native identity is also to invoke certain powerful discourses about which experiences of Native life and which Native identities are acceptable and legitimate.

Poststructuralism and post-positivist critical realism, which can be well-supported by the phenomenological approach with its focus on narrative and experience, were identified as the theoretical perspectives underlying my stance toward this research endeavor. According to Surber (1998),

Poststructuralism seeks to reject some privileged and ultimately ahistorical theoretical or methodological stance in favor of a historically embedded and constantly open process of radical critique. . . . These modes of critique are designed to show how any attempt to theorize culture objectively is already informed by its own cultural prejudices and becomes destabilized and self-undermining in the very process by which it attempts to conduct critique. (p. 183)

Post-positivist critical realists make the claim that various kinds of identities are complex theories about, and explanations of, the social world, and that they are relational

and grounded in the historically produced social categories that constitute social locations (Moya, 2000). Identities are theoretical claims that attempt to account for causal features of the social world and they have an epistemic status (Mohanty, 2000). From a post-positivist critical realist perspective, the urban context would be considered to be an important site of Native knowledge production. As such, the knowledge created by Native people living in the urban context would be afforded epistemic privilege, because it is derived from the unique individual and group interactions of urban Native people with the racial, class, and power hierarchies they confront. Thus, Native knowledge which is created in the urban context may be uniquely different from that which is created as a result of the experiences of individuals living within the boundaries of the reservation or tribal homeland (Lucero, 2007b).

The theoretical stances of poststructuralism and post-positivist critical realism each require examination and questioning of the role of historical and prevailing relationships of power in both the creation of certain experiences related to race, culture, and ethnicity, as well as the discourses that come to describe and explain these experiences. For example, Surber (1998) contended that

Cultural practices and theories about them have both a common root in manifold complex, and ever shifting configurations of power. It is not the task of radical critique to propose yet another theoretical discourse but rather to force the specific configurations of power underlying any and all existing cultural discourses to show themselves. (p. 183)

The purpose of this study was not explicitly to generate new theory but rather to engage in the critical process of critique referred to above by Surber. This process was utilized when considering whether the findings of the ways in which study participants constructed and maintained their cultural identities and cultural connectedness either

supported or failed to support the popular discourses regarding Native identity, and especially those speaking about urban Native people. To incorporate this critical process into the methodology of the current study, the prevailing discourses on the effects of urbanization, the urban Indian experience, and American Indian cultural identity were identified and considered from the theoretical stances of poststructuralism and post-positivist critical realism. This allowed some identification of the role and impact of power as it related to the construction of urban American Indian identity and cultural connectedness. A discussion of the impact of certain discourses of urban Indian identity and connectedness upon the experiences of study participants can be found in Chapter 6 and 7.

Sampling and Recruitment

Sampling Rationale

The sample for the study as it was originally planned was to be comprised of families with a member who participated in the Relocation Program and in which subsequent generations had remained in the Denver area. Additional perspectives on when American Indian urbanization in Denver more accurately began resulted in reformulating the criteria for the sample. It was first understood that American Indian urbanization in Denver had occurred as a result of the Program and that when looking for a population of American Indians with long-term and stable urban residence, participant families would need to be recruited and selected from this group. Data from previous studies of the relocation process, presented in Neils (1971), appeared to indicate that the population of American Indians in Denver prior to 1952, when the Relocation Program

began in earnest, was negligible and that the Program was responsible for the presence of American Indians in the city and the establishment of the Denver Indian community.

Two Lakota Sioux informants who had lived in Denver since the 1940s, however, presented a different perspective. One of the informants, who was from the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, shared that even as early as the Depression years of the mid-1930s, people from his reservation had looked at Denver as a place where they could go to find work and, after a period of time, easily return to the reservation (R. Williams, personal communication, February 14, 2008). He remembered visiting family members who lived in Denver during the 1940s; and as a child, he came to live in the city permanently in 1949. The other Lakota informant, originally from the Rosebud Sioux reservation in South Dakota, had come to live in Denver in 1945, when as a young woman, she had accompanied a large group of extended family members who had found work in the city.

The informants indicated to me that several waves of American Indians had come to the city prior to the Relocates. One group was comprised of American Indian veterans of World War II who began settling in the city, beginning around 1945. A second group was made up of Lakota and Dakota families who came to the city from their reservations in North and South Dakota and Nebraska due to the devastation wrought by severe blizzards in 1948 and 1949, and had chosen to remain. These informants also remember a sizeable community of Navajo people living in Denver prior to the 1950s. However, the informants lacked information as to why these families were in Denver, because they recalled that in those years, Indian people in Denver did not normally interact across

tribal affiliations (R. Williams, personal communication, February 14, 2008; V. Rogers, personal communication, May 6, 2008). It is quite possible that these families were a part of the Navajo Employment Services Program, an early version of what was later to become the Relocation Program, and had been resettled in Denver around 1947 because harsh blizzards had threatened people on the Navajo reservation with starvation (Burt, 1986; Philip, 1985).

Through discussions with community elders and potential study participants, it began to unfold that the common view that saw American Indians prior to the Relocation Program as isolated on their reservations, with little contact with non-Indians and urban America, did not hold for all Indians. For many years, American Indians had been engaging with American society in ways that brought them into contact with cities and small towns, and with non-Indians in off-reservation settings (LaGrande, 2002, Lobo, 2002). Military service and employment opportunities off-reservation (Fixico, 1986, 2006; Olson & Wilson, 1984) or even the desire to experience the world away from the reservation brought American Indians into urban areas prior to the time when urbanization became official government policy. The above processes were also part of the experiences of Generation 1 study participants, each of whom talked in his or her narrative interview about meaningful and important experiences that took place off reservation and with non-Indians, prior to their permanent move to the city.

Increased contact between American Indians and non-Indians also lead to growing rates of intermarriage, especially of Indian women and non-Indian men, beginning in the 1960s (Sandefur & Liebler, 1997). Discussions I had with Indian

community members uncovered that numbers of American Indian women who had been in Denver since the 1950s had non-Indian spouses. Many of these women had left their tribal areas after marrying and had come to Denver during the time of the Relocation Program to accompany their husbands, who had been transferred to the area for new jobs or military postings.

The additional perspectives on American Indian urbanization in Denver, noted above, resulted in the decision to reformulate and widen the parameters of the study sample to include not only families who had a member come to live in the city through the Relocation Program, but also families who had a member come to live permanently in Denver during the 20-year period from the late 1940s through the late 1960s, regardless of the impetus for moving to the city. Thus the current study focuses on the experiences of cultural identity development and maintenance and cultural connectedness in the wider group of American Indian families who have experienced living in an urban area over the course of 3 to 4 generations, rather than on just those who relocated to the city through participation in the Relocation Program.

Study Participants

The Families

Five families, representing five different tribes, were selected for participation in the study. Each met the criteria for having left their reservation or tribal community to live permanently in Denver at a point between the late 1940s through the late 1960s, and 3 to 4 generations of family members had continued to reside in Denver since the family's arrival. The patriarch of Family 1 left his Northern Plains reservation in late

1948 on a trip with his boss, also an Indian from his reservation, and the boss' family to visit Denver and explore employment possibilities. What started out as "just a trip to visit Denver" changed quickly and became the start of what the patriarch now terms a "60-year permanent visit." He married his boss' daughter shortly after arriving in Denver, and the two established a household and permanent residency, raising their children, grandchildren, and many relatives' children in the city. Representatives of four generations of Family 1 participated in this study: the patriarch, age 88 (his wife had passed away some years ago), his eldest son (age 48), two granddaughters (ages 34 and 36), and his 14-year-old great-granddaughter (the daughter of the 36-year-old granddaughter).

The matriarch and patriarch of Family 2 formally participated in the BIA's Voluntary Relocation Program, moving from their small Northern Plains reservation to Denver in 1956. The matriarch describes relocating as "an adventure," with elements of the new and exciting and, at the same time, something she and her husband had no choice but to do because of the lack of employment and difficult conditions on their reservation. The matriarch and patriarch of Family 2 relocated to Denver with their 11-year-old daughter and three small children; three other children were born after the family established their home in Denver. Her husband died in 1968 and she did not remarry. Although four generations of Family 2 continue to live in Denver, only representatives from Generations 1 through 3 took part in the study: the matriarch (age 84), the daughter (age 62) who had come to Denver when the family relocated, and two granddaughters (ages 47 and 44, the daughter's daughters). The matriarch's teen-age great-

granddaughters, who represent Generation 4, have not maintained a close relationship with their great-grandmother and other members of the family and so did not participate, at the request of family members.

The matriarch of Family 3 came, by herself, to Denver in 1963 from her Northern Plains reservation, after the death of her husband. During the 1950s, she had participated for a short time in the Relocation Program but had returned to her reservation. She was familiar with Denver from this previous stay in the city and knew many families from her reservation who lived in the city, as a result of their participation in the Relocation Program. After getting established and finding work, this participant sent for her young daughter, who made a bus trip from the reservation accompanied by an adult brother, to join her in Denver. The matriarch worked in a program that assisted Relocates to access services and settle into the urban setting; and throughout the course of her lifetime she has been involved in many aspects of the Denver Indian community. Three generations of Family 3 participated in this study: the matriarch (age 81), her daughter (age 45), and the daughter's children (a 24-year-old grandson and 17-year-old granddaughter).

Family 4 is from a tribe in the northeastern United States. The matriarch, who was married to a non-Indian man, accompanied her husband to Denver in 1965, when he was transferred by the military to a base in the area. The matriarch first left her reservation community several years earlier to accompany her husband when he was stationed in Europe for 4 years, and upon their return to the States, lived in Illinois for a short time. After arriving in Denver, the matriarch attempted to access job-training services connected to the Relocation Program but was initially told she was not eligible, because

she was a member of a state-recognized tribe rather than a federally recognized one. Two years later, she was told that rules had changed, and so she was accepted into the BIA's Adult Vocational Training Program alongside other Relocates. The members in Family 4 who were interviewed for this study included the matriarch (age 73) and her daughter (age 41); the matriarch's grandson was scheduled to be interviewed but was unexpectedly called to active duty in Iraq just prior to the interview.

Finally, the matriarch from Family 5 came to the Denver area in 1967 with her husband (a non-Indian), when he took a job with a major corporation located in a Denver suburb. She was from a small tribe in Oklahoma and had grown up in her tribal community. She and her husband continued to live there after their marriage until he took a job in a small town in Ohio. The matriarch and patriarch came to Denver with two young sons; they had two children after establishing residence there. Two generations of family members from Family 5 participated in this study: the matriarch (who did not wish to disclose her age but is in her mid-70s), her son (age 48), and her daughter (age 38). Members of Generation 3 were too young to participate in the study, so family members' reflections on the experiences of these younger children as urban Indians were solicited.

The Story of Participant Recruitment and Identification

The current study received University Institutional Review Board approval in September 2007. The following month I announced the study and presented information on its goals to representatives from agencies serving American Indians and Indian community members at the Denver Indian community's Service Delivery Advisory Committee (SDAC) meeting. This meeting is a monthly community gathering that serves

as a forum for disseminating information within the Indian community and to the wider community of service agencies. I met after the meeting with several individuals who provided names of families who had lived in Denver for many years, and several of these individuals agreed to contact people they knew to let them know that I might be contacting them.

During this same period, I met with a study advisory board that had been formed to assist me in identifying and recruiting study participants. This three-member board was comprised of individuals who had lived, worked, and interacted in the Denver Indian community for decades and who were well-known to community members and in agencies serving American Indians. The intent of the first meeting of the study advisory board was to develop a list of families and individuals known to have come to Denver through the Relocation Program and to agree on a plan for contacting these individuals. The process and outcome of that meeting will be discussed below in the “Recruitment Challenges” section.

The first family to be recruited into the study came about as a result of my initial announcement of the study at the October 2007 SDAC meeting. A member of Family 1 came to me and shared that as a group, they had discussed participating in the study and had agreed that they wanted to share their family’s story. What a heady experience it was to have subjects come to you wanting to participate! It reinforced what I had once read about how members of oppressed and marginalized groups, whose stories have often been suppressed or rewritten, were often anxious for the opportunity to give voice to their legitimate experiences (Saleebey, 1994). My head swam with fantasies that the

recruitment process was going to be easier than expected—and fantasies these were, as is clearly indicated by the need for a “Recruitment Challenges” section in this chapter.

Because Families 2 through 5 did not offer themselves readily to me, I began to employ a variety of strategies to identify and recruit them. I first began by sending an e-mail to prominent community members and directors of Indian community agencies, asking them for the names of individuals they knew who had come to Denver through the Relocation Program or who had lived in Denver since the 1950s or 1960s. Names of a handful of people were received, but the most common response was that the e-mail recipient did not know how different people in the community had arrived in the city.

Next, I returned to the National Archives to review a list of more than 300 names of Denver Relocates who were involved in the program in the mid-1950s. I recognized the names of several families whose members were still active in the Indian community, but these individuals had been previously identified. The vast majority of names, however, were unknown to me and to several community elders who reviewed the list. This strategy did not produce results but did lend credibility to program critics who have contended that 40 to 50% of Relocates returned to their reservations (Gundlach & Roberts, 1978; Harmon, 1956). Finding that many Relocates had not remained in Denver was later supported by the narrative of the Generation 1 member of Family 4, who recalled, “ I couldn’t get over how all the Indians kept coming and going, coming and going. Nobody ever stayed anywhere. You know, they’d all come here, then all of a sudden, everybody’d be gone back to the reservation.”

Through various strategies and sources, I was able to put together a list of approximately two dozen names of individuals (a) who had either participated in the Relocation Program or otherwise come to Denver during the 1950s and 1960s; (b) who were currently living in Denver; (c) who were known to have children and grandchildren who resided in Denver; and (d) for whom I had either a phone number, address, or idea of a location in the community where it was likely I might find them. I then either contacted these people through a phone call or personal note left at their home or work, or I had another community member contact them on my behalf to inform them of the study. Families 2 and 3 were recruited in this way, although both had been previously known to me, and I had a professional or social relationship as a community member with at least one member of each of the two families prior to their participating in the study.

In the process described above, what I believe is a culturally specific type of non-response was the most common response. In these scenarios, the individual, when finally contacted in person by me, would acknowledge having received the previous calls and notes, and would often make a polite and plausible explanation for not responding (e.g., being out of town, tending to a sick family member, or working long hours), followed by a promise that he or she would think about my request and talk with family members. Following this, there would again be a long period of non-response, and if I contacted them again, they were likely to respond with an embarrassed admission that they had not had a chance to address my request. From the standpoint of a cultural insider, this last response was interpreted as the individual's way of declining to participate without appearing rude or confrontational. The response was treated as such without further

probing, which if undertaken, could have been seen as intrusive and offensive, and as if I were not acting in accordance with cultural norms.

One recruitment goal of the study was to find families from five different tribes, so as to represent, in a sense, the tribal diversity of the Denver Indian community. Families 1 through 3 were members of different Lakota/Dakota tribes, which King, (1992) found comprise approximately one third of the tribal people in Denver; the same study found that Navajo people comprise approximately another third. Not only because Navajos comprise a significant number of the tribal people in Denver, but also because many were originally relocated in Denver as part of the emergency response to dire conditions on the Navajo reservation during the late 1940s, it was hoped that the experiences of a Navajo family could be included in this study.

To recruit a Navajo family, I located two Navajo-speaking individuals who were involved in the Dine of Denver organization who agreed to help find a Navajo family for the study. An announcement of the study, expressing my desire to talk to Navajo families that had resided in Denver since the 1950s and 1960s, was put in the organization's on-line and print newsletters and was announced at meetings; the contact person in each of these formats was listed as one of the Navajo-speaking persons who were helping me with recruitment. The on-line announcement received hundreds of web hits but no calls to the study assistant. Other contacts by these Navajo helpers were not fruitful; and in the end, no Navajo family could be found within recruitment timeframes to participate in the study.

As more traditional (in the sense of the research process, not culturally) methods of participant recruitment were failing to yield results, I set out to find an individual who held detailed knowledge of the members of the community and could be considered a community gatekeeper. Individuals who play this role are not uncommon in reservation or tribal communities. In my past experience, an individual such as this, (a) holds knowledge of the kinship relationships of members of the community, knowing for example, the complex and detailed interrelationships between various families; (b) is likely to be able to name several generations of extended family members for a particular individual; (c) can recall particularly noteworthy characteristics of community members; and (d) may have information on significant events in the lives of families in their particular community. Although urban Indian communities have an added level of complexity due to their inter-tribal nature that may not be present in reservation or tribal communities, in the past, I had encountered several individuals in the Denver urban Indian community who possessed this type of detailed knowledge of families.

While I was discussing the frustrations of study recruitment with an acquaintance, she very humbly and matter-of-factly began to divulge her knowledge of who was who in the community in a way that made it clear that she was the individual I was seeking. Two weeks later, she handed me a typewritten list of three names and phone numbers and informed me that the first two individuals on the list were ready and anxious to talk to me—they had made a commitment to her to help me—and that she would talk to the third if need be. I called the first person and found that my acquaintance had come through for me; this person let me know that she had been thinking about her experience in coming to

Denver and was anxious to tell me. Upon further contact, I found that this first family was ideal. They were from a small tribe in the Northeast and had for more than 40 years been the only representatives of their tribe in the Denver area. I had my fourth family!

The second person on my acquaintance's list was just as enthusiastic as the first. However, while interviewing the matriarch, she disclosed to me that members in Generations 2 and 3 were struggling with severe substance abuse and that she did not feel she could identify persons who would be able to take part in an interview. Disappointed, I once again found myself faced with recruiting another family.

Early in the recruitment process, I had made contact through a member of my dissertation committee with one of her neighbors, a woman who was a member of a small tribe in Oklahoma and who had come to Denver in 1967. The three of us had met over breakfast and, at the time, the woman had shared in detail her experiences of coming to Denver and being the only member of her tribe to have ever lived here. She seemed ideal for the study, and so I was disappointed at the time to learn that her grandsons, the third generation of her family, were too young to participate in a meaningful interview. As months passed without finding the required five families, members of my committee and I discussed modifying the parameters of the sample to allow earlier generations in a family to provide the perspective of third generation members should they be too young to be interviewed. When we agreed to this change, I thought of this woman and her family. I contacted family members who eagerly agreed to participate, and at last had five families from five different tribes!

Recruitment had taken 8 months and been full of challenges, frustrations, and pitfalls; but it also had led me to a new depth of understanding of the relational processes taking place among urban American Indians as well as the different subcultures present in a large multi-tribal urban Indian community. As an insider researcher, I found that recruitment was also a delicate process of balancing the need to find participant families within a specified time frame with acting within cultural and community norms for how, when, for what reason, and at what speed relationships are formed that require one person to reveal personal and intimate information.

Recruitment Challenges

Recruitment of the targeted group of urban American Indians who were the focus of this study presented a number of challenges that should be anticipated in future research with urban American Indian populations. Despite my insider status, locating families with three generations of members still living in the city who were willing or of an age appropriate to be interviewed was a time-consuming process and more difficult than anticipated.

By the time this study began in late 2006, many individuals who had come to Denver in the 1950s through the mid-1960s as young adults in their twenties and thirties had since passed away, resulting in a good number of families without a Generation 1 member. Other potential Generation 1 participants had moved away from the city upon retirement, returning to their reservations as older adults or following their children to other parts of the country, as was shared by the Generation 1 member of Family 4, who

had remained close to many of her peers from the early days of the Denver Indian community.

In other families who had a Generation 1 respondent, it was common that members of Generations 2 and/or 3 had moved away from the city. In a number of instances, Generation 1 and 2 members were not able to identify a member in Generation 3 or 4 who was willing to participate in the study. Despite my assurances that full bloodedness, high blood quantum, or strong Indian cultural identity was not necessary for participation in the study, in some cases, the Generation 1 or 2 member would self-deselect from the study by telling me that he or she felt the Generation 3 or 4 member(s) did not consider him or herself to be Indian, but instead identified with another aspect of their ethnicity (e.g., White or Latino). Lastly, the Generation 1 members of several families who were contacted by me admitted that their families had been so disrupted by substance abuse that they felt they would be unable to identify members in Generations 2 and 3 who would be sober and healthy enough to participate in a meaningful interview.

A second challenge particular to this recruitment effort was that two families who were considering participating in the study experienced the death of a family member just prior to scheduling their first interviews. In alignment with cultural norms from their tribes, each family then entered an extended period of mourning in which they removed themselves from participation in community events and activities and limited their interactions with others. The unexpected loss of a relative, necessitating the sudden withdrawal or extended absence of a family from a study in order to observe cultural

traditions around the loss of a family member, can occur at any time and should be a consideration in recruitment planning.

Future researchers should be aware of a phenomenon that arose during the recruitment process in this study, which I have termed “the performance of interpersonal connectedness”: Members of an urban Indian community may project to others, both insiders and outsiders, that they have a higher level of connection to individuals and families in the Indian community than they actually do. I encountered this in the current study numerous times during the recruitment phase. Several times it took the form of individuals telling me they knew families that they thought I should talk to for the study. However, when asked how I might contact these families the individual knew, I would find that it had actually been more than 10 or even 20 years since they had spoken to one of the family members, and the individual suggesting them was unfamiliar with the current status of the family. Or, I might find that the connection the individual had to the person they were suggesting was actually one only at the level of an acquaintance, or of recognizing a person’s name as being someone who was part of the local Indian community.

I did not sense that what I was encountering was a strategy intended to misdirect me. Nor did the actions of these individuals, many of whom I had known for more than 20 years, seem related to American Indians’ reluctance to interfere in the lives of others and thus be aimed somehow at protecting the privacy of those I might contact. Instead, I believe this projection of connection to others was done genuinely and reflected the relational nature of this and other Indian communities. It may also play an important role

in community cohesion and individuals' feelings of being part of their ethnic community, as upon further reflection, I realized that I had witnessed it occurring at other times and in other settings in the Indian community.

As such, the caution offered above should not be taken as a criticism, but rather, to make researchers aware that members of urban Indian communities may know each other on a social level but may have little knowledge of each others' lives and personal histories. This phenomenon should also be anticipated when identifying community gatekeepers, elders, and other informants who may be used to help researchers gain entry into urban Indian communities and assist with recruitment. As was evidenced by the recruitment process in this study, finding an individual who holds knowledge of community members may involve a process of working down through several layers of informants to reach the most helpful information source, who may not necessarily be a person who is prominent in the community or the stereotypical wise and knowing elder so often portrayed to exist in Native communities.

Strategies to address the above challenges emerged as the recruitment process drew on. Had more time been available for recruitment, it is likely that many additional families could have been brought into the study. For example, the Generation 1 member of Family 4 had real connections to many older Native women who were no longer especially visible and active in the Indian community, but who, in the 1960s and 1970s, had been highly involved in many aspects of Native life in Denver. This participant's interest and enthusiasm for being part of the study could have assisted in building trust with other Relocates. Had they had more time, the Navajo-speaking people helping me

felt they would have been able to find a Navajo family who would likely have agreed to participate. However, this study had timeframes for completion, and I was unable to dedicate 2 or more years to the recruitment process.

Given the challenges encountered in the recruitment stage, the five families, who were interviewed and whose experiences are presented in the findings, represent families and individuals with salient and meaningful engagement with the phenomena of interest. Their narratives have provided deeper understanding and insight into the ways American Indians develop and maintain their cultural identities and a sense of connectedness to Native culture while living in an urban area, and thus they were the ideal participants for this study.

Data Collection and Interviewing

The Interviewing Process

Eighteen individual interviews were conducted for the study, each lasting from one-and-one-half to 3 hours. Generation 1 interviews tended to last much longer than those of members of other generations, because these oldest participants shared a great deal of background information that was important to understanding the events that led to their move from the reservation, the cultural context in which they lived prior to arriving in the city, and descriptions of the Denver Indian community during the 1950s to 1970s. The intention of each interview encounter was to assist the interviewee to create a narrative account of his or her experience of and engagement with the phenomena under study—the cultural identity and cultural connectedness of urban American Indians.

All interviews were digitally recorded and converted to media files. Audio media files of interviews were transcribed verbatim. A coded identification system was developed by me and applied to each audio file and to all hard copies of transcripts in order to protect the confidentiality of participants; I was the only person with access to any materials and data associated with the study. Transcripts were given personally by me to interviewees for review and comment. Each Generation 1 participant was given a CD with the audio file of his or her interview, in order to preserve the oral history of his or her family and the Denver Indian community that each shared during their interview.

Development of Interview Questions

Study advisory board members were utilized as consultants in assisting me to finalize interview questions and topic areas; particular attention was paid to developing questions specific to and appropriate for each generation of study participants. These questions and topic areas were used as a foundational structure upon which each interview was built, and they were intended to cover areas considered crucial to answering the study's guiding research questions. The narrative inquiry approach utilized in this study required, however, that I continually shape and hone questions as interview conversations unfolded. This shaping of questions allowed the interview to become a more extensive and meaningful exploration into the experiences of each study participant and resulted in the construction of a personalized narrative that captured each participant's unique engagement with the phenomena under study. In addition, as participant interviews proceeded, the emerging nature of the qualitative research design employed in this study allowed for more focused and nuanced questions to arise and subsequently be incorporated into future interviews. It also allowed for the inclusion, in future interviews, of concepts shared by interviewees that I had not originally been aware of, for example, the repeated mention of participants' creating and finding an "Indian space in the city" (see pp. 178-182 for an explanation of this theme).

Topic areas explored during interviews included

1. Cultural identity
2. Description of self as an American Indian
3. Meaning of being American Indian
4. Cultural connections
5. Cultural behaviors
6. Cultural experiences
7. Urban Indian experience

8. Feelings about term “urban Indian”
9. Differences between reservation and urban Indians
10. Family’s experience in urban area
11. Individual’s experience in urban area
12. Strengths/weaknesses of living in an urban area
13. Kinds of connections participant has had or currently has with other Indian people
14. Knowledge participant has of his or her tribe/reservation/tribal culture
15. Connections participant maintains with his or her tribe/reservation/tribal culture
16. Perspectives on cultural identity and cultural connections in generations other than that of interviewee

Each interview began with my asking the participant to tell how he or she identified him or herself to others. This response, which was typically, “I say I’m American Indian,” was followed by a request that the participant talk more about who he and she is as an Indian person and about what being American Indian meant to him or her. Listed below are examples of questions that were included as the interviews unfolded. (Please see Appendix 1 for examples of interview guides for each generation.)

1. (For Generation 1) “Looking back 45 [for example] years later, how would you describe the effect that relocating to Denver has had upon you as a [insert tribe, e.g., Lakota] person?”
2. “How has living in Denver affected or changed your cultural identity—your sense of being American Indian—and your ways of being connected to other Indian people and your tribe?”
3. “In what ways do you feel you may be different than someone from your tribe who continues to live on your reservation?”
4. (For Generations 2-4) “Do you think that something important to your cultural identity and cultural connections has been lost as a result of growing up in a city? If so, please talk about what these things may be. If not, please tell me what has helped you avoid that loss?”
5. “While living in the city, what kinds of things have you done or have others done for you to help you understand what it means to be American Indian?”
6. “While living in the city, what kinds of things have you done or have others done for you to help you remain connected to other American Indians, including people from your home reservation?”
7. (For Generations 2-4) “What are some of the effects on you that you can identify as being a result of your family member’s leaving his/her reservation and coming to live in the city?”

8. (For Generations 1-2) “How do you think living in the city has affected your children and grandchildren as far as their being Indians?”

Narrative Interviewing and Interviewing Techniques

McAdams’s life story theory of identity argues that “the coherent, albeit often complex, narrative that we forge of our life experiences is in fact our identity” (Baddeley & Singer, 2007, p. 177). These narratives become the fundamental ways in which individuals understand and know themselves. Narrative inquiry was chosen for use in this study for its ability to draw out aspects that can be conceptualized as together constituting an individual’s identity. Narratives are also an equally important way through which individuals can come to be known by others. Because of the significant connection between identity and narrative, this study utilized a narrative interviewing approach to capture the experiences of three generations (and in one family, four generations) of family members within each of the five study families; in four of the five families, multiple members of Generation 2 or 3 were interviewed.

Singer (2004) suggested that individuals possess a narrative identity or understanding of self that can be uncovered through a process of conversational interaction with others. This author outlined the following principles that are common to the use of narratives in research undertakings on identity: (a) examining the role of sociocultural factors in identity; (b) relying upon autobiographical memories and cognitive processes; and (c) analyzing individuals’ identities across the lifespan and in relationship to family, culture, and social institutions. These principles are closely aligned with the conceptualization of the phenomenological interview as an interpersonal

encounter in the form of a discourse or conversation (Mishler, 1986), intended to obtain a description of the life-world experience of a participant (Kvale, 1983).

Narrative interviewing techniques utilized in this study incorporated the above principles suggested by Singer and the conversational interview guidelines from Kvale (1996). Philosophically, the phenomenological stance believes that the structures of experience of a phenomenon emerge from the biographical, contextual, and personal data contained in a narrative interview (Giorgi, 1975b). Thus, the interviewing approach that I utilized was intended to support and encourage participants, while relating their narratives, to develop detailed descriptions of their experiences and to reflect upon and interpret these experiences in relationship to their cultural identity and cultural connectedness.

Although the intention of the interview process was in no way clinical, nor did I approach participants as if they had life challenges or problems they needed to discuss, the narrative interviewing techniques utilized in the study also incorporated techniques similar to those used in effective clinical interviewing. These interviewing techniques were also utilized to increase the credibility and trustworthiness of study data, by soliciting participant feedback and clarifying or correcting my understanding, while the interview was in progress. As the interviewer, I utilized such practices as reflective listening (“I hear you saying that it was difficult for you being the only Indian in your school, that you felt others saw you as really different”), probing for deeper meaning in participants’ stories (e.g., “Tell me more about how you made the decision to leave your reservation”), seeking clarity and understanding of participants’ statements (e.g., “Can

you help me better see how powwows maintain your cultural identity ?”), pointing out contradictions and requesting clarification (“You said a little while ago that you always identify to others as American Indian, but you just said that at work you identify as Hispanic. How does that work?”), and being an empathetic human being and attentive listener. Each of these techniques was found to increase the depth and detail of the information participants shared.

The narrative interviewing approach utilized in this study emphasized a conversational and story-telling style that fostered rapport and relationship between interviewer and participant, and was congruent with most tribal communication styles. Researchers interviewing Native people are cautioned not to ask questions of interviewees, because it may be considered culturally inappropriate (Brayboy & Dehyle, 2000). Although I believe this caution is taken to an extreme by these authors, I did limit the number of questions asked of participants and, instead, often found myself making a statement or sharing a short story about the topic I wished to discuss and then allowing the person time to reflect and respond with his or her own thoughts. As a Native person, I may have unconsciously learned how to converse and obtain information without having to ask many questions, and so this method of eliciting narrative data came easily and naturally.

Being both a Native researcher and an insider seemed to eliminate much of the trust-building stage that I had expected to encounter even from members of my own community. For example, I would arrive at the home of a person I had not previously known and would likely hear something to the effect of, “My mom told me about you

and she said she really liked talking to you, so I was anxious to meet you,” or “My friend said the two of you worked together in the Indian Child Welfare Program. I’m glad I can help you.” Several participants “tested” me about my Indianness and connection to other Indians. When I was able to engage with them in conversation about people we knew mutually or I could say something like, “Yes, I’ve been to your reservation,” or “My brother-in-law is from a family up there. Do you know him?” it seemed this was all it took to quickly move to the point where the person asking jokingly, “So what is it you’re here to pick my brain about?”

The rapid movement of participants to a stage of rapport and initial trust speaks, I believe, to two important characteristics of Native people and of their communities. The first of these is the deep interconnectedness people feel as a result of their mutual experience of being American Indian. The second is the recognition that as members of an American Indian community, we are part of an intricate network of social and familial relationships that weave our lives together and create a sense that we have some type of fundamental connection to all other members of the community. This worldview and way of thinking places a great deal of emphasis on being aware of one’s relationships to others and uses existing relationships to make ties to new ones.

Humor also became an important tool that created rapport and deepened the level of connection between participants and me. Being able to tease and joke, often in a self-deprecating way, is seen by many Indian people as a hallmark of cultural interaction (Herring 1994; Price 1998). Participants and I laughed together (and yes, cried together at times, too) in a way that was familiar and comfortable and that created a special bond of

Indianness between us. I still find myself wondering if any of the unknown transcriptionists who worked on the recordings saw the humor in some of the jokes we shared or incidents we recalled, or were left wondering what we thought was so funny.)

Despite recruitment being a time-consuming and difficult stage, interviewing and data collection went quickly and was an energizing and exciting stage. Participants many times shared experiences related to people, places, and events, which had taken place in the Denver Indian community that were familiar to me. Because I was an insider, the participants did not first have to spend time educating me about the historical and contemporary experiences of Indian people—as American Indians frequently feel they must do when interacting with non-Indians—in order for me to understand important aspects of their own personal experiences of being Indian.

Being able to relate with participants around shared memories or facets of our common history and experiences, and identify people whom we knew in common or with whom we had had meaningful experiences and relationships, broke down barriers and allowed us to quickly move into a mutual exploration of participants' experiences. These explorations yielded narratives that were richly filled with personal accounts of the ways participants thought about and had engaged with the study constructs, and this led ultimately to the identification of the phenomenological meaning structures or underlying presences of the phenomena under study. And similar to Kenny's (2006) research experience, these narratives yielded a great deal of cultural and historical knowledge that had not been sought after. In retrospect, however, without this information, much of the knowledge that had been sought would have lacked depth and power.

Research Countertransference

It is likely that participants may in some ways identify with the insider researcher, and in turn, the insider researcher may identify with research participants. Perceived similarities in values, demeanor, language, physical appearance, and/or expectations are identificatory pathways (Watkins, 1985) that bring insider researchers and participants into a closer relational stance than if interviews are being conducted by an outside researcher. Much like the counseling or therapeutic encounter, the research interview encounter is one in which very personal, intimate, and intense experiences and emotions may be shared by participants; and the insider researcher may experience his or her own intense reactions in response to aspects of participant narratives, due to the heightened level of identification. In the therapeutic setting, these feelings, thoughts, and even behaviors that arise in the therapist as a result of the therapeutic relationship with a client are known as countertransference. Countertransference can possess both positive and negative elements (Blanck & Blanck, 1979) and can be either “constructive or destructive” (Watkins, 1985, p. 356).

Unexpectedly, I experienced a form of “research countertransference” when conducting some participant interviews. Intense emotions, vivid memories, and uncomfortable feelings arose on several occasions when participants recounted events or remembered individuals with whom I had a shared experience or relationship. Perhaps because of my prior work as a therapist, I found myself continually monitoring my own emotional state and thoughts as I conducted each interview, and even as early as the first

interview, I became aware of incidents of what I came to call, “research countertransference.”

Although this topic appears to have been given little attention in the literature on conducting research as an insider, I found that managing research countertransference so as to be able to work with its positive and constructive forces was vital to both being open to allowing the study phenomena to emerge and take shape, as well as permitting interview narratives to reflect the uniqueness of participants’ experiences. I believe that had I not been aware of my own feelings and reactions that were elicited by participant narratives, the mutual identification present in most interview situations could have led the interviews in a direction where either the desired phenomena would not have been discussed fully, or the participant’s construction of his or her narrative would have overly reflected my influence.

Despite the potential drawbacks of being an insider researcher, I believe my active engagement in the interview process, my status as a member of the participants’ community, and recognition and discussion of mutual experiences during the interviews helped elicit information that was especially detailed and nuanced. It may not have been possible to gather this type of data had participants and I not shared similar cultural knowledge and had a common engagement with the research phenomena. Or, if participants had provided such detailed data to a non-Indian outsider researcher, important aspects of participants’ experiences may have been missed, minimized, or misinterpreted.

Data Analysis

Descriptive Phenomenological Analysis Methodology

The analysis of study data proceeded using a specific phenomenological psychological methodology developed by Amedeo Giorgi. Giorgi, a research psychologist, began the development of the methodology in his work on existential-phenomenological research approaches in psychology, in a project at Duquesne University in the 1970s. His aim was to develop a phenomenological data analysis methodology that was a “strictly qualitative procedure to help one answer the question of meaning” (Giorgi, 1975a, p. 73), yet one that could stand alongside quantitative methodologies in terms of the rigor of the analysis. Giorgi believed that scientific inquiry could be rigorous without requiring that all data be transformed into numbers; thus he searched for what would “do for meaning what mathematics does for measurement” (p. 73). He set out to discover what to do to be rigorous with verbal descriptions, and he describes the resulting methodology as the “development of a phenomenologically based procedure for the analysis of linguistic descriptions—as opposed to numerical description” (Giorgi, 1975a, pp. 78-79).

Giorgi elaborated specific steps for achieving the phenomenological reduction of psychological and experiential sociological data, and the identification of meaning structures and presences contained within a particular phenomenon (Giorgi, 1985a; Giorgi & Giorgi, 2003; von Eckartsberg, 1986). Analysis of the current study’s data proceeded through the reduction for each individual interview using these steps, which are elaborated upon in the section that follows.

Giorgi's methodology, however, has been used primarily for the analysis of single case studies, as is exemplified in his studies of the learning experience (1975, 1986), the verbal learning tradition (1985b), and hallucinations (2003). No published study applying the methodology to the analysis of multiple interviews readily appeared in a search of the major social sciences databases. However, Wertz (1985) suggested thoughts on how some structures—identified in a single case, analyzed using Giorgi's methodology—may “manifest a general truth” or “transcend the individual” (p. 228). These thoughts were helpful in conceptualizing how to transform statements containing the presences of the study phenomena, found in specific cases, into generalized statements, which could then be analyzed with those found in all cases within the sample. Thus, modifications to Giorgi's original methodology were developed for the current study to allow the structures of each of the two study constructs to be compared and analyzed as group data from individuals, all of whom had engaged with the same phenomena.

Steps in the Giorgi Methodology for Phenomenological

Psychological Data Reduction

Interviews provide descriptions of particular phenomena as experienced by interviewees. The first step, thus, is to simply read the entire description through to its end in a manner which attempts to conceptualize it as a holistic account or perspective of the phenomena. This step helps the researcher obtain an overall sense of the description—to know where it begins, and importantly, to see where it ends. In this first stage, the importance of the *epoche* (Husserl, 1931; Kersten, 1989) is at the forefront. So, too, is the need for continual reflection on the part of the researcher, so as to maintain

awareness of feelings that are elicited in relation to participant narratives, and especially in the case of insider researchers, to manage any research countertransference that may arise.

The second step begins the phenomenological reduction, which involves identifying and delineating natural meaning units contained within an interview transcript (Giorgi, 1975b). *Meaning units* are sections of the textual representation of the interview in which a participant focuses on a particular aspect of his/her experience or shares a particular story. Giorgi (1985a) defines meaning units as “spontaneously perceived discriminations within the subject’s description arrived at when the researcher assumes a psychological attitude toward the concrete description” (p. 11). In the sense used in this quote, “psychological attitude” does not refer to a particular psychological theory but rather a stance of the researcher where he or she accepts that the participant’s words have some meaningfulness and psychological relevance to the phenomenon of interest. The boundary of such a meaning unit is identified when the participant changes topic, a story comes to an end, or a new question is asked by the interviewer. Meaning units carry no special import to later steps in the analysis; their role is a practical one in that they function to group the narrative into sections of a length that can more easily be worked with when the researcher applies upcoming steps in the analysis.

There are no specific guidelines for what constitutes a meaning unit; these come entirely from the perspective of the researcher (Giorgi, 1985a). The meaning units of two researchers analyzing the same transcript would not have to be the same in order for each to eventually end up identifying valid meaning structures contained in the data (Giorgi,

1985a; Giorgi & Giorgi, 2003). In the current study, 15 to 25 meaning units were typically identified in each of the transcripts, ranging from one-half page to several pages in length.

To assist in managing the vast amount of transcriptual data, participant transcripts were loaded into Atlas.ti. From within Atlas.ti, the meaning units within each interview were delineated by defining each as if it were a coded passage. Within the defined meaning unit, text was coded in a way similar to that done in the preliminary coding pass used in open coding. These codes, however, were not further used in the phenomenological reduction steps outlined below. Instead this initial coding assisted me to more easily identify the central theme(s) of the meaning unit, especially when working with long and complex passages. The delineation of meaning units within Atlas.ti with a numbering system also allowed me to quickly return later to the naïve description associated with a structure, determined through the phenomenological reduction process, in order to retrieve quotes for use in the presentation of study findings.

In the third step of Giorgi's reduction process, there is a "progressive refinement of the original description with respect to its sense" (Giorgi & Giorgi, 2003, p. 254). The researcher begins by stating the central theme of the meaning unit, using the language of the participant, and avoiding the addition of information not contained in the meaning unit or the researcher's interpretation of the participant's experience. In longer meaning units, there may be two or more different themes expressed by the participant. Examples of statements of central themes from three different interviews in the current study are

provided below to illustrate. (An example of the central themes with their corresponding meaning units for an entire transcript is provided in Appendix 2)

Example 1: The need to balance between Indian and non-Indian worlds is a constant in S's [subject's] life that has never changed. Because of this, S. can't let himself be totally Native all of the time or be totally assimilated either; he has to balance between them, whether he's in the city or on the reservation.

Example 2: S. does not think that people from some tribes had a harder time adjusting to Denver than those from other tribes. She does think, however, that the Lakotas had an easier time adjusting because they spoke English well and had had a lot of contact with whites before coming to the city; people who didn't speak English or who hadn't had contacts with whites had a harder time in the city.

Example 3: Growing up, S. didn't know many other Indians; but during college, he became involved with the Indian program at his university, started to connect with other Indian people, and began to do research into his own tribe. He also began working for a national Native organization.

In the fourth step of the analysis, themes that were originally expressed in the ordinary language of the participant are expressed in psychological and sociological terms with respect to their relevance to the phenomena under study. Through reflection and imaginative variation on the part of the researcher, subjects' descriptions are stated in terms that illuminate the psychological aspects of their experiences in a way that gives them depth and complexity (Giorgi, 1985a). Giorgi (1975b) expressed the central themes of each meaning unit in terms that are revelatory of both the structure and the style of the phenomena of interest. Structure is the "what" of the phenomena (Idhe, 1977)—the noema (Husserl, 1931)—or the presentational form (Sokolowski, 1985); whereas style is the "how"—the noesis (Husserl)—or the way the phenomenon is experienced or appears (Moustakas, 1994; Sokolowski).

In the current study, the structures of the two phenomena—cultural identity and cultural connectedness—were being sought, and are used in the explanations of the steps

that follow. Giorgi instructed researchers to interrogate each statement of a central theme by asking of it two questions about each phenomena being examined (von Eckartsberg, 1986). As asked in the current study, the structure question was: “What does this statement tell me about the participant’s cultural identity (or cultural connectedness)?” and the style question was: “How (in action or behavioral terms) does the participant express his/her cultural identity (or cultural connectedness).” The answers to these questions are then stated in ways that captured the psychological and/or sociological relevance of the phenomena as experienced by the participant.

When the structure question, “What does this statement tell me about the participant’s cultural identity?” was asked of the first central theme example above (stated in the participant’s own descriptive wording), the result obtained was the following expression of one of this participant’s experiences related to the phenomenon of cultural identity: “S.’s Indian identity is constructed to balance both Indian and non-Indian ways of being.”

When the style question, “How (in action or behavioral terms) does the participant express his/her cultural identity?” was asked of the same central theme, it yielded the following:

S. does not see himself as being totally in the Native world nor totally assimilated into the dominant culture, but instead as constantly balancing Indian and non-Indian ways of being, regardless of whether he is in the city or on the reservation.

A second expression of cultural identity style can be stated from the same central theme: “S. has never found it hard to go back and forth between the city and the reservation, because he respected Native ways and was able to survive in the dominant society.”

The structure question in terms of the subject's cultural connectedness, when put to this central theme, yielded the following expression: "S. is confident in his connection to his tribe and reservation, and this allows him to go back and forth between the reservation and the city without problems." Likewise, the style question revealed this about how the subject expresses his connection to his Native culture: "S. goes back and forth from the city to the reservation without problems, because he understands and respects Native ways and at the same time understands the dominant culture."

Once the structure and style questions for the central theme in each of the meaning units in a narrative and for each of the constructs have been answered with an expression of the psychological/sociological relevance contained within and stated in the fashion seen above, the researcher arrives at a series of transformed or reduced meaning units. Giorgi and Giorgi (2003) explained this transformation:

Meaning units that were originally in the language of the participant are now expressed with heightened psychological sensitivity with respect to the phenomenon under study. One then practices imaginative variation on these transformed meaning units to see what is truly essential about them . . . and then one carefully describes the most invariant connected meanings belonging to the experience, and this is the general structure. It is quite possible that terms not found in the transformed meaning units are required to describe the structure. (p. 253)

It was at this point that I found the need to expand Giorgi's methodology in order to accommodate its use across multiple cases. In the original methodology, Giorgi would take the series of transformed meaning units, now expressed in terms of their relevance to the phenomenon and revealing of the structure of the phenomenon, and construct two narrative descriptions—a situated case-specific description of the essential structures of

the individual's experience and a generalized or trans-situational decontextualized description of those structures. Giorgi (1975b) explained the differences as follows:

The specific description of the situated structure remains more faithful to the concrete subject and specific situation whereas the general description of the situated structure tries as much as possible to depart from the specifics to communicate the most general meaning of the phenomenon.
(p. 20)

The first stage of the current analysis—the phenomenological reduction—was aimed at revealing the structures and styles of cultural identity and cultural connectedness across the group of participants. After answering the “what” and “how” questions discussed above, rather than constructing Giorgi's two narrative descriptions, I transformed the answer statements, revealing of the structures of the phenomena, cultural identity and cultural connectedness, into one or more generalized or trans-situational versions (referred to from this point forward as “general descriptive statements”). Wertz (1985) suggested such applications of the results of Giorgi's phenomenological reduction methodology, explaining that these findings

Can be applicable beyond the original context in which they are discovered and pertain to many individuals. . . . Even though immanent meanings and the structural knowledge of them transcend the individual, this does not mean that they are necessarily true of all, or even many, individuals. Therefore the research must determine which features of the individual structures manifest a general truth and which do not. He may do this by rereading the Individual Psychological Structures and rather than taking their statements as referring to the particular case, take them as referring to all cases [in the sample]. (p. 228)

Giorgi (1975b) described these generalized findings as having a “nomothetic value” (p. 97) and suggested that they may be compared to those of other studies of the phenomenon or considered in a theoretical manner.

The generalized descriptive statements that correspond to the central theme, used as an illustration in this section, are listed below:

1. An urban Indian person's Indian identity may be constructed to balance both Indian and non-Indian ways of being.
2. An urban Indian person may constantly balance back and forth between the Indian world with its Indian ways of being and acting, and the non-Indian world and its ways of being and acting.
3. An urban Indian person with a strong connection to his culture and reservation can go back and forth between the city and the reservation confidently and without problems.

The final action in this step of the analysis consisted of (a) grouping together all of the generalized descriptive statements associated with a particular interview, (b) determining to which of the two phenomena (cultural identity or cultural connectedness) each statement referred, and then (c) determining if the statement was revelatory of either the structure or the style of the phenomenon. Generalized descriptive statements for each of the study constructs from all participants were eventually gathered together and used to identify common themes, from which emerged the structures and styles of the phenomena across the sample. Table 1 presents a portion of the generalized descriptive statements for one of the interviews in this study. The entire set of generalized descriptive statements for this interview can be found in Appendix 3.

Table 1

Generalized Descriptive Statements for Interview Example

General Structure of Cultural Identity	General Style of Cultural Identity	General Structure of Cultural Connections	General Style of Cultural Connections
<p>1.1. A strongly internalized core Indian identity structures the individual's sense of self in such a way that Indian identity remains firm across interpersonal relationships and social contexts.</p> <p>1.3. A strongly internalized Indian identity allows the individual to internally "live Indian" at all times and regardless of setting.</p> <p>2.2. Indian identity may not only protect an individual from being assimilated into the dominant culture, it may also protect him/her from negative aspects of modern Indian life such as substance abuse.</p> <p>3.1. For an urban Indian person, cultural traditions can be either part of a deeply internalized way of being or be tools a person utilizes when needed for surviving in the urban environment.</p> <p>4.1. Urban American Indians are frequently misidentified by members of other ethnic groups.</p> <p>4.2. The experience of having to assert one's Indian identity in the face of continual misidentification may actually strengthen that identity.</p>	<p>1.2. "Living Indian" is an expression of Indian identity which demonstrates that an individual has internalize Indian values, behavioral norms, and cognitive structures in such a way that he is able to use these aspects to order and direct his thinking and behavior across most, if not all, social and interpersonal contexts.</p> <p>2.1. Maintaining an Indian identity while living in an urban area may not totally be a process of maintaining traditions and cultural connections, but may involve, instead, finding a balance between engaging with modern society and engaging with one's heritage and traditions.</p> <p>4.3. Urban Indians can benefit from having skills or awareness that allows them to understand when it is appropriate to interact using traditional or Indian ways and when it is necessary to use non-Indian ways.</p> <p>5.1. Internalization of Indian values and traditions can help structure and stabilize an individual's Indian identity in situations where he must relate to or interact in the non-Indian/urban world.</p>	<p>3.1. For an urban Indian person, cultural traditions can be either part of a deeply internalized way of being or be tools a person utilizes when needed for surviving in the urban environment.</p> <p>8.3. An urban Indian person with a strong connection to his culture and reservation can go back and forth between the city and the reservation confidently and without problems.</p> <p>10.2. Members of urban Indian families may have different levels of connection to Indian culture.</p> <p>13.2. An urban Indian individual may use the same strategies (for example, maintaining relationships with other Indian people) to maintain connections to his/her culture whether he/she is living on the reservation or in the city—these cultural connection strategies are not context dependent.</p> <p>15.1. Blood quantum may not be used by some Indian people as the main indicator of whether they or any other person is Indian; some internal sense of Indianness or commitment to being Indian may carry more weight than one's blood quantum.</p>	<p>3.2. Cultural traditions and traditional social ways of interacting may not work in many situations in the urban setting and so an urban Indian person must be aware of both Indian and non-Indian ways and have the ability to move from using one way to the other.</p> <p>5.2. Holding on to Indian values and traditions may give an urban Indian person a feeling of being more balanced.</p> <p>6.2. An urban Indian person may see him or herself as living more in alignment with Indian values than they see some reservation-based Indians doing.</p> <p>7.2. Holding on to cultural traditions is a way that some urban Indians resist assimilation.</p> <p>10.1. Spending time with Indian friends is an element of cultural connectedness.</p> <p>11.2. Associating with other Indian people can strengthen connection to Indian culture.</p> <p>13.1. Relationships with friends, family and other Indian people on the reservation is a way that an individual can maintain connection to his/her culture while living in the city.</p>

Comparison of the Structures and Styles Across Participants

Following completion of the phenomenological reduction, the next stage in the analysis of interview data was to identify the structures and styles of the two phenomena being examined across the group of participants. In order to do so, four groupings of generalized descriptive statements were created as separate documents. The first contained all the generalized statements of the *cultural identity structures*; the second, all the generalized statements of *cultural identity styles*. Another held all the generalized statements of *cultural connectedness structures*, and the last consisted of all the generalized statements of *cultural connectedness styles*. In each document, an identifier was attached to every generalized statement, so that it could be traced, if needed, progressively back through the steps of the phenomenological reduction to the original naïve description provided by a particular participant.

In reviewing the sets of generalized descriptive statements of the structures and styles for each of the two phenomena across the group of all participants, themes quickly became evident. Each of the four documents described above was loaded into Atlas.ti and analyzed separately. These analyses involved assigning to each statement a code(s) representing the unique structure of the phenomenon revealed therein. Applied to each of the four sets of generalized statements, this process resulted in a relatively small number of related structures and styles, expressed as codes. These codes were then further analyzed and regrouped to arrive at a final set of structures and styles that represented participants' experiences of the two phenomena being examined.

Analysis matrix. Once the structures and styles of cultural identity and cultural connectedness were identified for the sample as a whole, an analysis matrix was created

to identify additional analyses that could be undertaken to examine individual, family, tribal, and generational differences and similarities in the structures and styles of the two study phenomena. Several of these analyses required developing additional materials beyond the generalized descriptive statements used in the initial analysis of the data.

Earlier in this chapter, a reference was made to Giorgi's phenomenological reduction methodology as yielding situated, or case-specific, narratives of an individual's engagement with both the structure and style of the phenomena of interest. To begin the next stage of analysis in the current study, such narratives were developed for both constructs for each individual in the sample. To simplify the presentation of the findings and reduce the voluminous amount of written material, the narratives for the structure and the style were synthesized for each phenomenon into one descriptive narrative, referred to herein as an individual situated descriptive synthesis of cultural identity (or cultural connectedness). In the end, each study participant had two associated case-specific narratives, one that described the individual's engagement with the structures and styles of cultural identity and another that described these for cultural connectedness.

The individual situated descriptive syntheses for members of each family were compared and analyzed to determine whether a family theme for cultural identity and cultural connectedness could be identified. Analysis determined that each family group exhibited unique experiences and attitudes about cultural identity and cultural connectedness, and this allowed a situated description of the family group's engagement with the study phenomena to be developed as well. It was also evident in the sample that two families had been the only members of their tribes to have ever lived in Denver, whereas the other three families were members of the tribal group dominant in Denver,

the Lakota/Dakota. Families were next grouped into dominant and non-dominant tribal groups, and further analyses were conducted using the family themes, generalized descriptive statements, and individual statements of structure and style (the answers to the “what” and “how” questions).

To undertake the intergenerational analysis, individuals were clustered into their appropriate generational groups. For each generational group, the individual statements of structure and style for each phenomenon were examined to determine shared experiences, attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors that characterized the group. From a list of these characteristics, generational descriptions of cultural identity and cultural connectedness were created for Generations 1, 2, and 3-4 combined. In the final step of the intergenerational analysis, the characteristics of each generational group were compared to the other two groups to determine similarities and differences across and between generations.

In the end, the phenomenological reduction and other data analysis processes resulted in the following products for each of the study phenomena:

1. Statements of individuals’ structures and styles
2. Generalized descriptive statements of individuals’ structures and styles
3. General structures and styles across the sample
4. A narrative synthesis of structures and styles across the sample
5. An individual descriptive synthesis for each participant
6. A family description and theme
7. Generational characteristics for each generational group
8. An intergenerational comparison of differences and similarities
9. A model of urban Indian cultural connectedness and its relationship to cultural identity

The findings derived from these products are discussed in Chapters 4, 5, and 6.

*Procedures to Increase Validity, Credibility, and
Trustworthiness of the Study*

Giorgi, in developing the methodology for the phenomenological reduction applied in this study, intended to develop a scientifically rigorous approach that was “systematic, methodical, critical, and general” (Giorgi & Giorgi, 2003, p. 249) and would yield qualitative data that was valid and credible. A focus on describing participant experiences precisely as experienced, rather than interpreting them through the researcher, was considered to be key to achieving the desired high level of validity, while philosophically aligning the methodology with the phenomenological tradition.

Giorgi (1992) believed there was no need for the researcher to “go beyond the data” (p. 126), and whatever data emerged from participant narratives were to be worked with precisely as presented—whether clear, ambiguous, contradictory, or even incomplete. This also meant that the researcher was to seriously consider as data anything the participant shared, and to work with this data precisely as presented, when applying the methodology of the phenomenological reduction (Giorgi, 1975b). Accounting for everything that presents itself “is a strategy devised to counteract the potentially biasing effects of past experience” (Giorgi & Giorgi, 2003, p. 249) and can increase the validity of findings through control of assumptions and theoretical factors (Giorgi, 1992).

As I studied Giorgi’s methodology in an in-depth and detailed manner before approaching the phenomenological reduction for this study and followed the steps of the process precisely as explicated. Polkinghorne (1989) contended that the results of phenomenological studies can be supported when an individual reading the report is “able to follow the thought processes that have led to the conclusions and to accept them as

valid” (p. 57). Beginning with step 1, reading the account as a whole, I disciplined myself to focus on the rich description of experiences contained therein and monitored myself to stay focused on participants’ words rather than moving to a place where I was adding my own thoughts or relating the experience to my own or others’ past experiences. In step 2, after delineating the meaning units, I carefully considered all of the description within each as it related to the study phenomena, being attentive not to discount accounts that on the surface appeared to address unrelated topics. Moving into the next steps of expressing the central themes of each meaning unit and applying the “what” and “how” questions to each, I continually focused, to the fullest extent possible, on using the ordinary descriptive language of participants, rather than my own interpretations of their descriptions.

Polkinghorne (1989) suggested that one way in which validity in phenomenological studies can be increased is by ensuring that it is possible to connect the structures identified back to their original examples. In the current study, I engaged in detailed and meticulous efforts at keeping all transformations of data connected to their original expressions in the interview transcripts in order to allow any given structure or style of the phenomena that emerged to be traced back to the original raw descriptive data in the transcripts. I believe that rigorous fidelity to Giorgi’s methodology throughout the reduction, during which the raw data from participant narratives were transformed into expressions of the structures and styles of the phenomena, has yielded findings that can stand as valid and credible.

Giorgi (1975b, 1985) believed that agreement among researchers as to the structures of a particular phenomenon was not a strict requirement for validity in

phenomenological studies, because he granted as given that multiple positions or viewpoints in respect to the data exist. He contended that two researchers might find some differences in structures because of divergent perspectives toward the data. For Giorgi, then, it was not necessary to have agreement about the structures of a phenomenon in a given set of data, but rather, “whether a reader, adopting the same viewpoint as articulated by the researcher, can also see what the researcher saw, whether or not he agrees with it” (1975b, p. 96). However, in order to assume this stance toward agreement, the researcher must have made his or her biases and perspectives—“the philosophical ground and specific world view on which the research is based” (Polkinghorne, 1989, p. 57)—as explicit as possible.

I share Giorgi’s belief that different stances toward the data can, and likely will, be taken by different researchers. For this reason, throughout this section I have attempted to make my perspectives, my theoretical grounding, and the possible biases related to my insider researcher status as explicit as possible. I have done so with the intention that those reviewing the findings of this study may understand them from my stance as researcher and judge their validity and credibility appropriately.

In addition to rigorous adherence to the methodology and explication of biases and perspectives, several other strategies were employed to increase validity and credibility of the findings. Consideration and inclusion of the data from all participants in the study, including those who might have been considered to be less identified as American Indian than others in the sample, or who had few, if any, connections to Indian culture, allowed for the variation amongst participants to be reflected in the structures and

styles of the phenomena. This inclusion of “negative cases” (Patton, 2002, p. 554) lends trustworthiness to the analysis and findings.

Member checking (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) was undertaken by providing transcripts to participants for their review and comment. Findings were discussed with some participants as well as a number of urban Indians from the community in which the research was conducted, and their feedback was considered when writing the findings and discussion chapters. Findings were also discussed as a form of “peer debriefing” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) with two other Native researchers and a non-Native psychologist who has researched cultural identity among urban Filipinos. Finally, my extensive training in social science research methodologies, my experience as a psychotherapist working exclusively with urban American Indian clients, my involvement in and connection to an urban Indian community, and my own engagement as an Indian person with the urban experience speak to the credibility of this study and the trustworthiness and validity of its findings.

CHAPTER 4. FINDINGS: STRUCTURES AND STYLES OF CULTURAL IDENTITY

Introduction

Rather than compiling a list of characteristics that are found to be associated with American Indian cultural identity or indicate that a person has a connection to his or her Native culture, as has often been done in other studies on this topic, the findings of this study are intended to shed light on the rich details and nuances of the cultural identity and cultural connectedness of American Indians whose families have lived in an urban area for multiple generations. The findings presented in this chapter and the next identify the complexity entailed in the urban Indian experience and describe the range and variety of ways that urban Indians think about and engage with their Indianness, internally as their cultural identity and behaviorally in their cultural connectedness, while living in a context that is often considered foreign, alienating, and marginalizing for Native peoples.

The analyses of participant narratives yielded highly detailed and multifaceted data about the experience of being an urban American Indian. Reducing the data through Giorgi's descriptive phenomenological methodology resulted in multiple layers of findings, each growing more complex and detailed as I delved deeper into them. Together they created an in-depth understanding of both the psychological structures of the phenomena under consideration in this study and the ways in which participants enacted these structures through encounters with their world and other people.

An important challenge faced in reporting the results of this study has been to select the appropriate level of nuance and detail at which to present findings, so that they may be relevant and helpful to others attempting to better understand the population under study, without overwhelming the reader with an excess of detail. With this goal in mind, findings are presented in separate chapters for each of the two study phenomenon—cultural identity and cultural connectedness; an additional chapter presents the findings of an intergenerational comparison of the two phenomena. In each chapter, I present the findings related to both the structures of the phenomenon as well as its styles. These are the answers to the *what* and *how* questions asked during the phenomenological reduction process (see pp. 96-97). In each chapter, findings are presented first in a general way, through identification of the themes and subthemes that emerged from participant narratives, which from this point forward are termed, the *cultural identity structures* or *cultural identity styles* and their *presences*.

Next in the presentation of findings, each of the structures or styles and their presences are defined and then followed by a descriptive narrative that synthesizes these components. The chapter goes on to elaborate upon selected structures and styles and their presences, and then gives examples, through the individual descriptive syntheses of each participant's experience, to illustrate the unique ways in which the structures and styles are manifested in participants' experiences of developing and maintaining their American Indian cultural identity while living in an urban environment.

A clarification of terminology is called for before beginning the presentation of the findings. Giorgi (1975b), in an early article describing his descriptive phenomenological methodology, sets forth distinctive terms associated with the processes

of the phenomenological reduction. These terms differ from those used by other well-known methodologists, such as van Kaam (1966), Coliazzi (1973) and Moustakas (1994). Of primary relevance to understanding the presentation of the findings in the current study is avoiding confusion over the word “structure,” which is used differently by Giorgi and Moustakas. For Giorgi, structure is the term used to describe the *what*—the *noema* or presentational form of a phenomenon (Sokolowski, 1985). Style is then Giorgi’s term used to describe the *how*—the *noesis* or what one must do in order for the phenomenon to appear. This contrasts with Moustakas who uses textual to describe the *what* of a phenomenon and structural for the *how*.

Giorgi’s methodology is also distinct in that it describes the structure and style of a phenomenon at two levels, the *situated* and the *general*. A description at the situated level incorporates the specific and distinctive details of the individual context in which the phenomenon is experienced, whereas a general level description illustrates relevant aspects of the phenomenon at a trans-situational level (Giorgi, 1975b).

Various aspects of the findings of the current study are presented at either the general or the situated levels. For example, the themes from which the cultural identity structures emerged were derived from general descriptions of the structures of individuals’ experiences of the phenomenon. In contrast, the individual descriptive syntheses for each participant (see pp. 384-458) incorporate the structures and styles at a situated level for each participant.

As a final point of note regarding terminology, in his later works and as he further developed his descriptive phenomenological methodology, Giorgi (2003) urged a move toward conceptualizing the outcome of the phenomenological reduction as revealing of

presences (p. 213) or *key constituents* (Giorgi & Giorgi, 2003, p. 255) of the structure of a psychological phenomenon (such as cultural identity) rather than producing a set of invariant structures or essential constituents. By doing this, Giorgi sought to address the charge that phenomenological inquiry was reductionistic or essentialistic and to demonstrate that phenomenology, instead, led to a fuller and more encompassing examination of a phenomenon. He emphasized that when using phenomenological methodology, one should be “seeking the psychological essence or structure of the phenomenon and not the universal essence or the essence as such” (Giorgi & Giorgi, p. 250). This semantic evolution was also intended to emphasize that in regard to psychological phenomena, uncovering the nature of the experience and the functions it served in the life of the individual, rather than simply identifying a set of essential components that define and must be contained within the experience, was of primary importance in phenomenological studies. Giorgi contended that from this perspective, “respect for the complexity of the experience and the refinement of psychological understanding are two consequences of the phenomenological analysis” (Giorgi & Giorgi, p. 255).

As discussed in Chapter 3, one product of Giorgi’s phenomenological reduction process, as applied to the current study data, was a set of generalized, or trans-situational, descriptive statements for each of the two study phenomena, derived from the central themes of the structures and styles that had been extracted from participants’ narratives. Giorgi & Giorgi (2003) contended that these generalized descriptive statements highlight components of the structure that deepen our understanding of participants’ experiences. The examples in Table 2 provide a situated or individual contextual statement of a

structure and a style associated with each phenomenon, and they illustrate the accompanying generalized descriptive statement derived from each. (Please see Appendix C for additional examples of generalized descriptive statements and the structural or stylistic central themes from which they were derived.) When analyzed across the current sample, the components within the descriptive statements could be grouped thematically; these themes emerged as the structures and styles of the two phenomena.

In the current study, participants' experiences have been conceptualized as illustrating a range and combination of the possible presences of the phenomena of cultural identity and cultural connectedness. Approaching the data in this way has allowed participants' experiences to reveal the depth of two very complex phenomena. I believe this approach, in contrast to simply pointing out essential features that an individual's experience must contain in order to demonstrate cultural identity and cultural connectedness, avoids contributing further to the reductionistic essentialization of American Indians that for centuries has pervaded attempts to understand and explain this population (Berkhoffer, 1978; Deloria, 1998; Dippie, 1982). With this conceptualization of the structures and styles of the phenomena thus examined, the next section begins to uncover the structures and styles of cultural identity as experienced by individual study participants, as well as the more subtle presences contained within these components.

Table 2

Examples of Generalized Descriptive Statements for Structures and Styles

<p><u>Cultural Identity Structure</u> Individual's expression of the structure: Subject's deeply internalized Indian identity</p>	<p><u>Cultural Identity Style</u> Individual's expression of the style: Subject feels she leads a double life: She can fit</p>
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<p>allows him to shift constantly between assessing a situation from an Indian standpoint and assessing it from a non-Indian standpoint, without destabilizing his Indian identity.</p> <p>Generalized descriptive statement: A deeply internalized core Indian identity allows an individual to shift between Indian and non-Indian ways of perceiving and thinking without threat to the stability of his or her Indian identity.</p> <p>Cultural identity structure/presence: Maintenance of Indian identity/stability of Indian identity</p>	<p>into White society, but at the same time, has an Indian part of herself that she keeps very private and only shares with other Indian people.</p> <p>Generalized descriptive statement: An urban Indian person may reveal a different aspect of his/her Indian identity to non-Indians than he/she does to other Indian people.</p> <p>Cultural identity style/presence: Being bicultural/interacting in the Indian and non-Indian worlds</p>
<p><u>Cultural Connectedness Structure</u></p> <p>Individual's expression of the structure: Subject's main connections to Indian culture are her relationships with other Indian people.</p> <p>Generalized descriptive statement: An urban Indian person's relationships with other Indian people may be the main way through which he or she feels connected to Indian culture.</p> <p>Cultural connectedness structure/presence: Connections with other American Indians/importance of connections with other American Indians</p>	<p><u>Cultural Connectedness Style</u></p> <p>Individual's expression of the style: Working in an agency that serves Indian people gives Subject a feeling that she is connected to her culture and living a lifestyle that demonstrates alignment with cultural values.</p> <p>Generalized descriptive statement: An urban Indian person may demonstrate connection to his/her culture by helping other Indian people in a work, volunteer, or other Indian community setting.</p> <p>Cultural connectedness style/presence: Being involved with Indian culture/Indian community involvement</p>

Structures, Styles, and Presences of Cultural Identity Across Participants

Cultural Identity Structures

The general descriptive statements for the cultural identity structures of individual participants were grouped together, loaded into Atlas.ti, and coded. Thirteen cultural identity structures emerged from this process and are listed in Table 3 in order of their prevalence beginning with the structure that had the highest number of generalized descriptive statements associated with it. Additional description of the cultural identity

structures and their presences is provided in the next section, and an extended discussion and elaboration of selected structures can be found beginning on p. 133.

A decision was made not to elicit information directly from members of Generation 1 (ages 74 to 88) about the development of their individual cultural identity, because they each had grown into adulthood on their reservations and had come to the city with a firmly established sense of being Indian. Instead, interviews with members of Generation 1 were focused on their decisions to relocate, the experiences of relocating and raising a family in an urban area, and ways they thought that living in an urban area might have affected their children and grandchildren's cultural identity and cultural connectedness. Despite this, two members of Generation 1 did share stories in which they discussed in detail aspects of their cultural identity in such a way that structures and styles could be identified through the phenomenological reduction process. Thus, in the end, structures and styles of cultural identity were gathered for 16 of the 18 study participants.

Table 3

Structures of Cultural Identity Across Participants

Structures of cultural identity	
1.	Features of Indian identity
2.	Urban environment's effects on Indian identity
3.	Types of Indian identities
4.	Development of Indian identity
5.	Maintenance of Indian identity
6.	Differences between urban and reservation people and context
7.	Phenotype and blood quantum
8.	Fitting in
9.	Non-Indians and identity
10.	Identity in bi-racial and multi-racial Indians
11.	Ethnic misidentification
12.	Discrimination/racism/stereotypes
13.	Assimilation

The Presences Within the Cultural Identity Structures

Each cultural identity structure was further analyzed in order to cluster its descriptive statements at a greater level of specificity. This process resulted in the emergence of subthemes for 11 of the 13 structures. Subthemes should be thought of as the presences of each cultural identity structure; for the two structures without subthemes, the structure itself should be considered as the presence. Table 4 provides a list of the presences for each cultural identity structure that emerged from the participants' experiences; again, these are listed in order of their prevalence within each structure.

Structures (and styles) should not be thought of as totally distinct and exclusive features of the phenomenon but instead as overdetermined processes (Resnick & Wolf, 1987) whose properties are produced and exist through a dynamic interaction with one another. Conceptualized thusly, the structures and styles of cultural identity exist within a

relational structure where they fit together and influence one another in subtle, complex, and ever-changing ways to ultimately yield a unique expression of the phenomenon for each participant.

The process of overdetermination and the dynamic interaction between structures are exemplified in the relationship between ethnic misidentification and experiences of racism and stereotyping. Several participants' shared that they felt some experiences of racism were not due to their being American Indian, but rather because they had been misidentified as a member of another ethnic minority group and had become the recipient of words or actions directed at that group. At the same time, these participants also understood that consistently being misidentified as a member of another ethnic group was in itself a form of racism or stereotyping. Another example of this process occurs through the interaction of the cultural identity styles of behaving Indian and maintaining and strengthening Indian identity. Participants outlined a number of behaviors that they felt were foundational to their identifying as American Indian. Engaging in these behaviors not only created identity, but once identity was established, the behaviors, in themselves, became a process through which identity was strengthened and maintained.

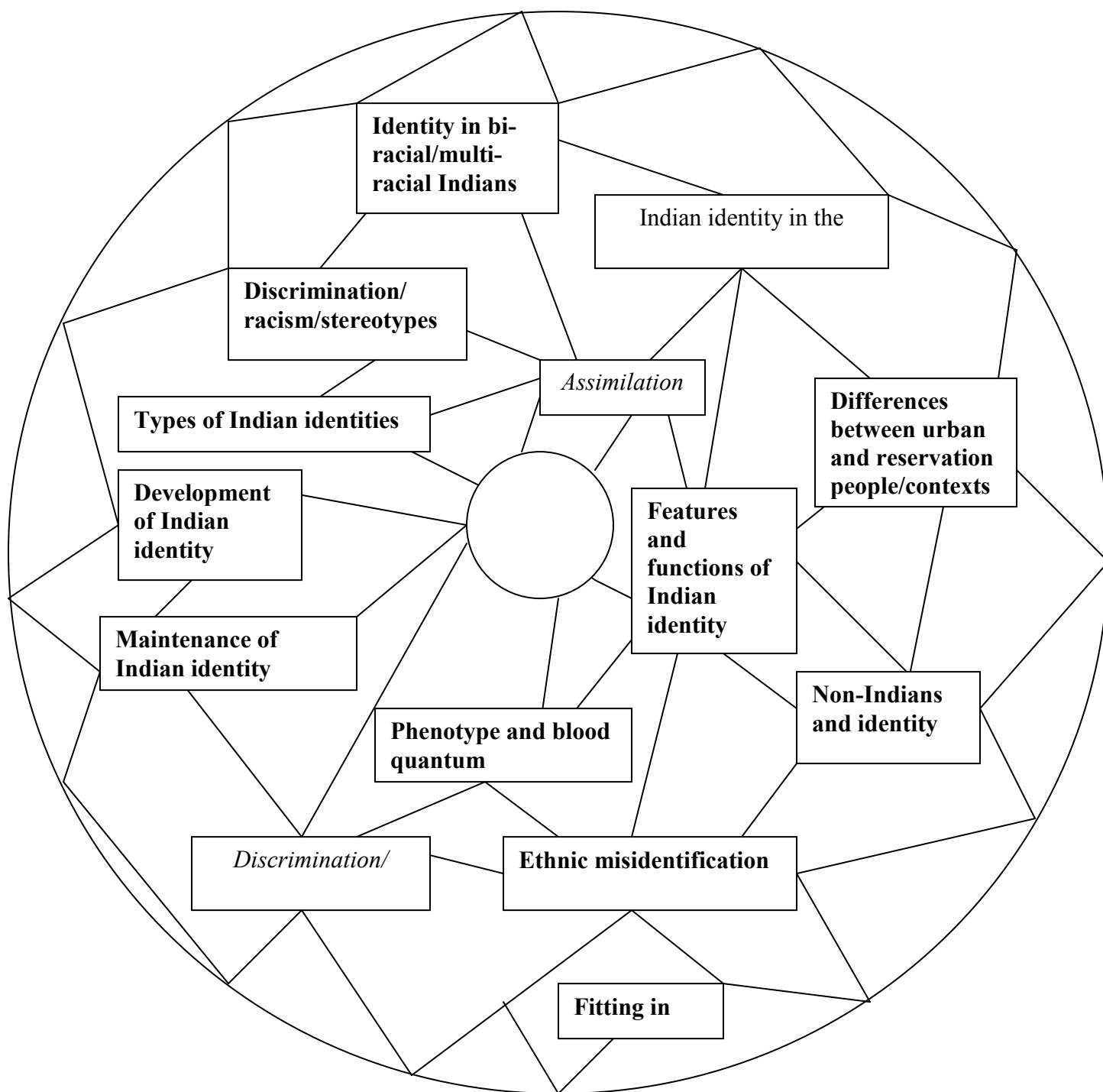


Figure 1. The web of relationships in an overdetermined structural process.

Readers are urged to examine the individual descriptive syntheses of the two phenomena (pp. 129-133 and 205-206) for a better understanding as well as illustrations of how the various structures or styles interact through the process just described. With the understanding that any structure or style of cultural identity is not, in and of itself, an essential determinant or defining characteristic of the phenomenon, I begin, in the next section, to describe the cultural identity structures as they were manifested in participants' experiences.

Table 4

Presences Within the Cultural Identity Structures

Structures and Presences	
1. Features of Indian identity	
a. Cultural traditions, values and knowledge	
b. Indian blood and tribal heritage	
c. Indian experiences and connections with Indian people	
d. Ethnic pride and resistance	
e. Positive impact of cultural identity	
f. Non-Indian ways	
2. Urban environment's effects on Indian identity	
a. Urban environment's impact on Indian identity	
b. Relationship between geographical location and Indian identity	
c. Beliefs/perceptions about Indians in the urban environment	
d. Social interactions with other urban American Indian	
3. Types of Indian identities	
a. Generalized Indian identity	
b. Tribal-specific Indian identity	
c. Simultaneous generalized and tribal Indian identities	
d. Urban-specific Indian identity	
e. Indian sub-culture identities	
4. Development of Indian identity	
a. Stages of cultural identity development	
b. Constructing an Indian identity	
c. Young people and Indian identity	
d. Identity choices for urban Indians	
e. Family's role in cultural identity development	
5. Maintenance of Indian identity	
a. Internalization of Indian identity	
b. Maintenance of Indian identity	
c. Stability of Indian identity	
6. Differences between urban and reservation people and context	
a. Differences between urban and reservation-based Indians	

- b. Difference between urban and reservation-based settings
- 7. Phenotype and blood quantum**
 - a. Phenotype's effect on Indian identity
 - b. Blood quantum's role in Indian identity
- 8. Fitting in**
 - a. Fitting in with non-Indians and in non-Indian settings
 - b. Fitting in with other Indians
- 9. Non-Indians and identity**
 - a. Non-Indians lack of knowledge of Indians
 - b. Non-Indians generalize all Indians into one group
 - c. Interactions with non-Indians
 - d. Being made the "Indian expert" and educating others about Indians
- 10. Identity in bi-racial and multi-racial Indians**
- 11. Ethnic misidentification**
 - a. Non-Indians misidentify urban Indians as members of other ethnic groups
 - b. Being identified as Mexican
 - c. Lack of awareness of Indian phenotype variations
 - d. Effects of ethnic misidentification
- 12. Discrimination/racism/stereotypes**
 - a. Discrimination toward Indians in general
 - b. Urban Indians' stereotypes of reservation-based Indians
 - c. Stereotypes about urban Indians
 - d. Differences between urban and reservation-based Indians' experiences of discrimination/racism
- 13. Assimilation**

Descriptions of the Cultural Identity Structures and Presences

Features of Indian identity includes specific elements participants related as being necessary constituents of Indian identity, such as having tribal heritage and knowledge of traditions, values, the history of one's tribe, and Indians in general. It also refers to the need to have had experiences with and connections to other Indian people. This structure includes references to the positive impact that a strong cultural identity can have on the life of an urban American Indian and to the roles that ethnic pride and active resistance to the dominant culture play in urban Indian identity. In addition, participants discussed how incorporating certain non-Indian ways into their cultural identities has been a means of improving their functioning in the urban environment.

Urban environment's effects on Indian identity refers to areas directly related to the urban environment that impact cultural identity for American Indians living there. Participants speak to the relationship between geographical location and their American Indian identities and describe aspects of their cultural identity that they attribute to the urban environment. Beliefs and perceptions others hold about the Indianness of urban Indians are identified and explored by participants, as is the importance of interacting with other Indians who live in the city to mitigating some of the negative effects of the context on identity. Finally, cognitive and emotional adaptations to the way an individual engages with his or her American Indian identity as a result of living in an urban area are outlined.

Types of Indian identities distinguishes a variety of ways that urban Indians identify themselves as American Indian to both non-Indians and other Indians. This structure uncovers the balance participants maintain between identification as members of their specific tribes and identification with the greater collective group of American Indians. This structure also identifies subcultural identities that exist among urban American Indians and acknowledges the emergence of an urban specific Indian identity among some individuals.

Development of Indian identity involves identification of stages related to the development and construction of participants' cultural identities and factors relevant to the choices an individual has when deciding to identify as American Indian. It further speaks to the role of family in the development of American Indian identity and calls attention to cultural identity issues specific to urban Indian young people.

Maintenance of Indian identity covers the importance of maintaining a strongly internalized core Indian identity and identifies the role that this internalized American Indian cultural identity plays in the well-being of the individual. Also included in this structure is the concept of cultural identity stability across different contexts (such as when moving back and forth between urban and reservation or from non-Indian to Indian settings and back again) and the idea that American Indians who reside in an urban environment are involved in a process of maintaining and balancing cultural identity as a result of factors specific to the setting in which they live.

Differences between urban and reservation people and contexts points out the specific differences participants perceived between themselves and their reservation-based counterparts and between the urban and reservation settings. Also identified within this structure are areas in which participants saw little or no difference between themselves and their reservation-based peers.

Phenotype and blood quantum covers discussion of the ways in which a participant's phenotype may have affected his or her American Indian cultural identity and the ability to feel he or she is Indian. This structure also identifies beliefs participants held about the relationship between having Indian blood, one's blood quantum level and Indian identity.

Fitting in concerns the relationship between participants' cultural identity and their feelings and experiences of fitting in with non-Indians and in non-Indian settings, such as work or school. It also covers the relationship between cultural identity and fitting in with other Indians, both in the urban and the reservation contexts.

Non-Indians and identity comprises participants' understanding that the vast majority of non-Indians lack knowledge of the diversity that exists among Indians and that there are differences between tribal groups; and because of this, project a generalized Indianness onto all American Indians. Also contained in this structure are the effects on an individual of being placed in the role of "Indian expert" on all aspects of Indian life and history, and then being expected to educate non-Indians about Indians. Finally, this structure includes discussion of cross-cultural interactions and their relationship to cultural identity in urban Indians.

Identity in bi-racial/multi-racial Indians refers to the experience of urban American Indians who are biracial or multiracial and the choices these individuals are faced with when constructing, balancing, and choosing between their ethnic identities.

Ethnic misidentification encompasses participants' descriptions of repeatedly being misidentified by others in the urban environment as being a member of a minority ethnic group other than American Indian (most frequently Mexican, due to the large Latino population in the study city), of never being identified by others as American Indian, and/or being identified as White rather than American Indian. This structure includes participants' discussions of their knowledge of variation in phenotype among urban Indians and how non-Indians' lack of awareness of racial mixing between Indians and members of other ethnic groups leads them to hold stereotypical beliefs about what Indians look like, causing them to mistake Indians for members of other groups.

Discrimination/racism/stereotypes includes descriptions of participants' awareness that although they may have experienced discrimination and racism (often because they are misidentified as being from another ethnic group), their experiences of

these may have been different from those of their reservation counterparts. This structure also includes expressions of stereotypical beliefs held by participants' about reservation-based Indians and the identification of stereotypes they believed others, including reservation-based Indians, hold about them.

Assimilation refers to statements describing the constant pull of assimilation felt by urban Indians and the challenges they face in resisting assimilation into the dominant culture.

Cultural Identity Styles

In a process identical to that described above for the answers to the *what* question regarding cultural identity, general descriptive statements related to the *how* question of cultural identity were thematized to reveal the styles of cultural identity across the sample of 16 study participants. Eight cultural identity styles emerged from this process and are listed in Table 5 in order of their prevalence, beginning with the style that had the highest number of generalized descriptive statements associated with it. Descriptions of the styles and their presences are again provided in the section immediately following this section; an extended discussion and elaboration of selected styles and their presences begins on p. 158.

Table 5

Styles of Cultural Identity Across Participants

Styles of cultural identity
1. Behaving Indian
2. Thinking and feeling Indian
3. Developing Indian identity
4. Maintaining and strengthening Indian identity
5. Being bicultural
6. Ways of identifying as Indian to others
7. Being a bi-racial Indian
8. Living in an Indian space in the city

The Presences Within the Cultural Identity Styles

Each style of cultural identity was further analyzed in a manner identical to that done with the cultural identity structures. This process resulted in the emergence of subthemes or the presences for 5 of the 8 cultural identity styles. The list below indicates the presences for each cultural identity style; again, the presences are listed in order of their prevalence within each style.

Descriptions of the Cultural Identity Styles and Presences

Behaving Indian identifies ways in which study participants actively demonstrated their Indianness. These included practicing traditions, living in alignment with traditional Indian values, learning about one's tribe—as well as the larger history of Indian people—and demonstrating this knowledge and/or teaching it to others, and behaving in accordance with cultural norms and expectations. Participants also acknowledged the importance of actively maintaining relationships with extended family,

Table 6

Presences Within the Cultural Identity Styles

Cultural identity styles and presences

1. Behaving Indian

- a. Practicing traditions
- b. Learning and demonstrating knowledge of Indian history and culture
- c. Asserting one's Indianness
- d. Engaging in social relationships with other Indians
- e. Involving oneself in an Indian community
- f. Connecting to the reservation/tribal community
- g. Recognizing familial relationships

2. Thinking and feeling Indian

- a. Feeling commonality with other Indians
- b. Coming to identify as Indian
- c. Looking Indian
- d. Situating one's Indianness in the urban environment

3. Developing Indian identity

- a. Ways of constructing identity
- b. Components of an Indian identity
- c. Stages of identity development

4. Maintaining and strengthening Indian identity

- a. Ways of strengthening Indian identity
- b. Ways of maintaining Indian identity

5. Being bicultural

6. Ways of identifying as Indian to others

7. Being a bi-racial Indian

- a. Identifying only as Indian
- b. Managing multiple identities

8. Living in an Indian space in the city

interacting with other Indian people who live in the urban area, and preserving ties to one's reservation or tribal community.

Thinking and feeling Indian details the importance of feeling a commonality between oneself and other Indian people, coming to identify with the history and experiences of one's family and tribe, and achieving a sense of belonging with other Indian people. In this style, participants share specific elements that are involved in identifying as American Indian, such as knowing the genealogy of one's family, demonstrating pride in one's culture, and openly expressing one's Indianness. The participants also voice particular aspects involving the challenges to identifying, such as not fitting in in White society and feeling one does not know enough about one's tribe or culture to be Indian. This style also touches on the internal processes associated with embracing one's Indian identity, the emotional work that challenges individuals who do not look phenotypically Indian, and cognitive processes related to situating one's Indianness in the urban setting.

Developing Indian identity refers to ways that individuals construct and then internalize their Indian identities, and it incorporates recognition of both internal processes and external affirmations that lead a person to know he or she is American Indian. Contained in this style are references to specific actions and occurrences that establish identity, such as interactions with extended family members, immersion in an environment that reflects Indianness, and gaining information about family members' experiences of being Indian. In this style, participants also identify stages they have passed through in developing their Indian identity.

Maintaining and strengthening Indian identity encompasses the strategies participants use to sustain a strong sense of Indianness. These include such things as sustaining relationships with other Indian people living in the urban area, identifying commonalities between oneself and other Indians, deepening one's knowledge of family and tribal history, practicing traditions, and maintaining connections with one's tribe or reservation community. This style also encompasses cognitive and emotional aspects of maintaining and strengthening Indian identity, such as developing the ability to distinguish differences between Indian and non-Indian worldviews, as well as behavioral expectations, internalization of Indian value systems and norms for behavior, and balancing living in a more traditional Indian way with engagement with modern society.

Being bicultural describes processes and strategies urban Indians use to maintain a strong Indian identity as they negotiate the urban environment and non-Indian society. This style also includes identification of behaviors, attitudes, emotions, and skills that are utilized to maintain balance when moving repeatedly back and forth between the Indian and non-Indian worlds.

Ways of identifying as Indian to others illustrates the choices urban Indians make, when asked about their ethnicity, about how to name or describe their American Indian ethnicity. This style exposes the rationales behind the decisions individuals make to identify in a particular way in a given situation.

Being a biracial Indian details two ways in which mixed blood participants express their Indian identities—either by identifying only as American Indian or by balancing and negotiating multiple ethnic identities.

Living in an Indian space in the city covers the ways in which participants cognitively, emotionally, and/or physically create spaces in the urban environment that allow them to express their Indianness and connect to important aspects of their identities and their Native cultures.

Descriptive Synthesis of Cultural Identity Structures and Styles

Study participants understand that the development, maintenance, and strengthening of an individual's American Indian cultural identity starts in childhood and continues throughout the life course. Cultural identity begins with having Native heritage or "Indian blood," and so family relationships, including those with extended family members, play a vitally important role in cultural identity development and maintenance. Having a network of social relationships with other Indians (both in the city and on the reservation/tribal community) and taking part in Indian-focused activities are also fundamental to identifying as and feeling one is American Indian. Knowledge of tribal history, traditions, and cultural values works in conjunction with family and social relationships and taking part in activities that are associated with being American Indian to reinforce cultural identity. Thus, identifying as American Indian while living in an urban setting involves not only having Indian heritage, but also being able to maintain connections with extended family members, engage in social relationships with other Indian people, demonstrate knowledge of Indian and tribal history and traditions, and incorporate traditional values into one's way of being. Many participants also saw that American Indian cultural identity requires that an individual be involved at some level in either his or her local urban Indian community or reservation/tribal community.

Participants expressed that identifying as American Indian is an active process that involves behaving, thinking, and feeling in ways that were recognized as being unique and specific to American Indians. These ways include practicing tribal traditions and spirituality, and internalizing and behaviorally expressing values that are associated with traditional ways of being and acting. Cultural identity for urban Indians also involves being proud of one's ethnicity and understanding that in order to maintain that identity and the culture that underlies it, an individual must actively resist assimilation into the dominant culture, while at the same time understanding and engaging with non-Indian ways.

American Indian cultural identity also has cognitive and emotional components. An individual must be able to internalize his or her cultural identity so that it is not dependent upon being in an Indian environment and so that it can remain stable during transitions between Indian and non-Indian settings and in the face of frequent ethnic misidentification by non-Indians. An individual must also be able to maintain an ongoing sense of identification with the collective group of Indian people while he or she finds appropriate ways to assert his or her individual Indianness to both non-Indians and other Indian people.

Participants have a number of ways of identifying their American Indian ethnicity or cultural affiliation to other people. Some choose to do so in a general way that indicates their identification with the larger group of American Indians (but which does not imply a lack of identification with their specific tribal group). These individuals typically identify themselves simply as "Indian" or less frequently, "Native American." Others identify themselves specifically as members of their particular tribes, whether or

not they have significant contact with those tribes. Still others engage in an evaluative process contingent upon the race and other attributes of the person to whom they are identifying and decide whether the occasion calls for them to identify generally as American Indian or to share their tribal affiliation.

Urban Indians have more cultural identity choices available to them than their reservation-based peers, according to some participants. For example, an urban Indian may choose to identify as a non-traditional Indian person, an activist, a powwow Indian, an Indian person who chooses not to abuse substances, or even an Indian person who is successful in the dominant culture. In addition to the general and tribal-specific ways of identifying their ethnicity, participants also make a distinction between themselves and their reservation-based peers and acknowledge that a specifically urban Indian identity is also a part of their cultural identity choices.

Urban American Indians who are biracial or multi-racial must also make decisions about whether to identify solely as American Indian or to balance their multiple ethnic identities, and if so, in what ways. Participants are aware of the effect that phenotype has on Indian identity, and those who are less phenotypically Indian often experience internal struggles, among which are whether they are seen as being Indian by other Indians as well as non-Indians, or whether they fit in with other Indians. Even for urban Indians who are not multi-racial, living in the urban environment requires them to interact continually with the non-Indian world, thus necessitating not only an understanding of this system, but also the ability to transition from Indian to non-Indian ways of thinking and acting. Moreover, it necessitates a level of biculturality that

involves balancing an understanding of both Indian and non-Indian values, norms and expectations.

The urban context is seen by a number of participants to impact Indian identity by making it harder to develop and maintain an Indian identity than it would be on the reservation. At the same time, however, American Indian cultural identity is not seen to be linked to a geographical area, such as the reservation or tribal community, and is considered to be able to develop and function to the benefit of the individual regardless of where the person lives. Living in an urban setting requires Indian people to make certain adaptations to their identities, such as incorporating and balancing an awareness of non-Indian ways or being able to determine when a situation calls for a person to “think Indian” or “think White.” These adaptations, rather than negatively impacting or weakening Indian identity, instead serve to strengthen cultural identity by requiring the person to be more cognizant of the elements of Native culture that differentiate it from the cultures of non-Indians.

Urban American Indians engage in a continual process of cross-cultural interaction in numerous contexts, such as work, school, or even day-to-day activities, such as shopping. Participants saw this as one thing that differentiates them from their reservation-based counterparts and creates an assimilative pull into the dominant culture, which must be continually resisted. At the same time that they feel the assimilative pull, most participants find themselves feeling they do not fit in with Whites and are out of sync with White society.

Despite the great amount of cross-cultural interaction that urban Indians experience, participants believe that non-Indians are unaware of differences between

tribal groups and between urban and reservation contexts, and so generalize Indians into one large and undifferentiated group. Thus, identifying as an urban American Indian involves the recognition that one will not be understood by most people one lives amongst. This, in turn, creates a situation where an urban Indian person is constantly placed in the often uncomfortable role of being an Indian expert who is expected to educate non-Indians about all things Indian.

Participants acknowledge that urban American Indians, similar to their reservation-based counterparts, face discrimination and racism. A number of participants, however, point out that it may often be that urban Indians who are targets of racism or discrimination end up as such not specifically because they are American Indian, but rather because they have been misidentified as members of other minority ethnic groups. This happens, participants believe, because non-Indians are unaware of the variations existent in Indian phenotypes and hold certain stereotypes about what Indians look like.

Elaboration and Discussion of Selected Cultural Identity

Structures and Presences

Each of the cultural identity structures and their presences (as well as the cultural identity styles and cultural connectedness structures and styles and their presences) are important and relevant constituents of the experiences of participants as they relate to their cultural identity and cultural connectedness. Some of these structures have been discussed at length by other authors, for example, powwows (Mattern, 1996), ethnic pride (Kulis, Napoli, & Marsiglia, 2002); biculturalism (Jackson & Chapleski, 2000; Whitesell et al, 2006); discrimination in the urban setting (Fenelon, 1998); ethnic misidentification (Campbell & Troyer, 2007; Gee, 2001); traditional spirituality and ceremonies (Baird-

Olson & Ward, 2000; Diaz & Sawatzky, 1995; Schiff & Moore, 2006), social interactions with other Indians in the urban setting (Kraus, 2001; Lobo 2003), and mixed bloodedness (Krouse, 1999; Lawrence, 2004), although perhaps not always as they might specifically relate to urban American Indian populations. Others of the structures identified in this study, such as fitting in with both Indians and non-Indians, urban Indians' perceived differences between themselves and their reservation-based peers, and the belief that urban Indians have identity choices that their tribal counterparts do not have, have received little attention in the literature.

This section focuses attention on selected cultural identity structures and their corresponding presences, that either have received relatively little attention in the literature on urban American Indians or were especially relevant to American Indian cultural identity as experienced by study participants. The following elaborations of the cultural identity structures, which include (a) urban environment's effect on Indian identity, (b) types of Indian identities, (c) differences between urban and reservation people and context, and (d) ethnic misidentification, incorporate the varying perspectives and experiences of study participants and illustrate the depth, the complexity, and at times, even the contradictions that exist within the structures.

Urban Environment's Effects on Indian Identity

This structure distinguishes how living in an urban area impacts, shapes, or affects American Indian cultural identity. Four presences were identified as part of the cultural identity structure, Indian identity in the urban environment's effects on Indian identity: (a) the urban environment's impact on Indian identity, (b) the relationship between geographical location and Indian identity, (c) beliefs and perceptions about Indians in the

urban environment, and (d) social interactions with other urban American Indians.

Details of each of the four presences will be presented below.

Urban Environment's Effects on Indian Identity

American Indians' cultural identities are impacted in numerous ways—some positive and others challenging—by living in an urban area. Individuals living in urban areas may have a different perspective on being Indian than do those living on reservations due to differences in the social context and the cross-cultural relationships that are most common in the two different settings. Some individuals may consider that identifying as an urban Indian places an individual in a space somewhere between being traditional and being assimilated, and where there is a lack of strong identification with either reservation-based Indians or more assimilated Indians. In addition, being an urban Indian may also leave an individual feeling that he or she is neither understood by the dominant culture nor able to engage comfortably with it. One Generation 2 participant described in detail the dilemma he feels and how he has come to handle it:

[Participant:] I believe that part of the society we live in still probably doesn't know how to deal with Native people, and Native people don't know definitely how to deal with this society. I might sound like I can handle it, but it's difficult. To me, it's almost you have to go one way or the other. I've felt that way all of my life, and yet I can't. I mean I can't be totally this non-Indian living this assimilated lifestyle in this new culture . . . or go back to being just somebody living on the reservation. . . . No one else gets to get away with it being totally 100 percent Native and living the lifestyle.

[Interviewer:] As you were talking about this, because I was just thinking that something happens, it leaves you in a place where you can't choose one or the other, and you don't totally fit in one or the other. So who are we and what happens to us?

[Participant:] Well, you know, I don't like asking myself that question, because I think if I did, I would start asking myself that all the time. Instead, I know who I am. I made up my mind. I'm a Native American. . . . It's almost one or the other, and to have that balance between 'em I think that's the only thing that really keeps me kinda sane in both

worlds. To be able to move from one to the other without any rippling effect; or when I leave this, I'm not losing my Indian identity over here in this other culture's world. But when I come back I still know that I'm part of this new culture, this new world that we live in. The balance probably is really the key to the whole thing.

Urban Indians must negotiate their cultural identity in an environment where that identity is constantly overshadowed by the presence of other ethnic groups whose numbers are much larger. Whereas this can be seen as a drawback by some urban American Indians, others may feel that the multicultural urban environment is a safe place where they can be free to express their Indian identity as they choose. The different contextual perspectives of the urban Indian may also lead them to believe that urban Indians have available to them different cultural identity choices than do their reservation-based counterparts. These individuals may also believe that diverse or individual expressions of Native identity are more tolerated in a multicultural urban environment than in a tribal community, and that if an urban Indian person wishes, he or she can also incorporate aspects of other cultures into his or her identity, with fewer negative judgments from others.

Some participants believe that it is easier for urban Indians than for reservation-based Indians to reject negative stereotypes about Indians, expressly because they have had a different experience of being Indian by living in the urban environment. At the same time, however, witnessing and/or experiencing negative aspects of Indian life may make it difficult for an urban Indian person to resist the pull of assimilation into the dominant culture. In addition, urban Indian people experience discrimination, prejudice, and racism because of their ethnicity as do their reservation counterparts, and this may affect an individual's readiness to fully identify as Indian.

Not having easy access to one's tribe and not knowing what is going on in one's reservation or in one's tribal community can be a drawback of living in an urban area that may leave urban Indian persons feeling disconnected and like they are losing their Indian identity, as expressed by one Generation 2 participant in the quote below.

I think there's just that not being able to, not having the tribe accessible, easily accessible. I think that's the hardest thing. So you don't know what's going on. You're not connected. You lose your identity, and then you have to integrate into this fast-paced world, when basically we're hardwired to live in a peaceful, slower world. And it's just difficult to integrate into the mainstream.

It also felt to some participants that living in the city limits their opportunities for political and social involvement with their tribes and the people who live there.

In contrast to the challenges presented above, being successful in the urban environment may contribute to an urban Indian person's having an Indian identity that is based, in part, upon seeing oneself as a hard-working and self-sufficient individual, who is much better off for having grown up in an urban area. A strongly internalized core Indian identity structures the individual's sense of self in such a way that Indian identity remains stable across contexts, and it allows the individual to "live Indian" (a phrase used by several participants) at all times through an internal process that is not dependent upon being in a setting that is highly reinforcing of one's Indianness. This stable core identity enables an urban Indian person to transition back and forth between the Indian and non-Indian world, without having to reconsider his or her identity each time a shift in context occurs. This stable core identity also allows an individual to adjust his thinking and perceiving so as to be in alignment with a particular context or to hold simultaneously Indian and non-Indian ways of thinking and perceiving, without having to also adjust his identity orientation. A stable core Indian identity helps an individual adapt to the world in

which he or she lives, in this case an urban multicultural setting, without losing that identity in the adaptation process.

Relationship Between Geographical Location and Indian Identity

Study participants perceived real differences between themselves and reservation-based Indians because of the two different contexts in which they live. This difference was expressed most powerfully as it related to the relationship they saw between Indian identity and one's tribe's land base. For some urban Indians, Indian identity may be thought of as an internal state that is not specifically tied to the reservation or land area occupied by an individual's tribal group, whereas for their reservation-based counterparts, identity may be more strongly connected to a geographical location. Many study participants saw their physical location as having no effect upon either their collective Indian identity or tribal-specific Indian identity; instead, these identities were considered to remain stable across differences in physical location. Although some aspects of an urban Indian person's Indian identity may be related to the place where one's people come from, strong cultural identity is not necessarily tied to one's physical presence in this area. Rather, it appears to be supported by knowledge of tribal history and familial ties to the area. Likewise, an urban Indian person's tribal-specific Indian identity may also not be dependent upon his or her being in the presence of other members of his tribe, because some study participants had few contacts with other tribal members yet felt a strong identification with others from their tribe.

The link between Indian identity and the reservation/tribal community appears to be weakening, especially in later generations. There is some evidence that an urban-exclusive Indian identity is arising in some individuals. This distinctive identity is neither

constructed from aspects of the reservation experience nor from a connection to an individual's tribal homeland, but instead from experiences specifically related to being Indian in the urban environment.

Beliefs and Perceptions About Indians in the Urban Environment

A central belief expressed by a number of study participants is that it is easier and more natural to live as an Indian person on one's reservation or in one's tribal community. As individuals become more physically and geographically disconnected from their tribes, they may attribute, without factual or experiential basis, greater traditionality and connection to a spiritual core Indianness to those Indian people who continue to reside on the reservation or in the tribal community. As expressed by the Generation 4 participant in the quote below, Indian identity is seen as arising almost naturally when one is on the reservation, because that identity seems to inherently exist there.

[Participant:] It's just really hard to find an identity as an American Indian, you know. I just think it would be a lot easier there [on the reservation] to just identify with people because they're the same tribe. Yeah, it would be, I think. Yeah.

[Interviewer:] So there it would be easier, more natural?

[Participant:] Yeah.

[Interviewer:] So you brought up something interesting in what you just said, in this idea that it's easier to be an Indian on your reservation than here. What's hard here?

[Participant:] It's definitely connecting with your culture. If you don't want to, then you can be as far separated from your culture as you want to; but if you're trying to connect and be able to find other Indians around, then you really have to try.

[Interviewer:] So you work harder to find those connections?

[Participant:] Yeah.

In contrast, when an American Indian person lives in a city, he has to intentionally set out in search of his Indian identity, many participants believe, and this can be an arduous process. Some participants also expressed that it is easy to lose one's Indian identity by

living in the city and that they have known some Indian people who came to the city to purposely do this.

Social Interactions with Other Urban American Indians

Various aspects of relating with other Indian people in the urban environment were discussed by study participants. A consistent theme regarding social relationships and interactions was that being with other Indian people in the urban environment creates a feeling that one has a social group with which one fits. However, some participants who were mixed blooded or felt they looked phenotypically White also experienced feeling unwelcome, out of place, or intimidated in social situations in the Indian community, unless they were with family members who they felt looked “more Indian”. A theme that builds off of this is that, in contrast, settings in the urban environment, such as schools or the workplace where there are few or even no other Indians, can be challenging for urban Indian people because there are not others with whom one can fit in.

Being an urban Indian from a tribal group where one’s family was the only representative of that tribe was perceived as being a different and more difficult experience than being from one of the larger and more prevalent tribal groups in a particular urban area. Members of two different families (a Generation 1 participant and a Generation 2 participant, respectively) expressed their experiences in this situation as follows:

That’s when I first went to the Indian Center . . . and I went down there to see if I could get any help. And they wouldn’t help me, because I was from a different tribe, not one from around this area. They told me they couldn’t help me.

It is a very different experience living in a community, I think, when you’re like the only person from your tribe and there’s nobody else that looks like you or has the same history as you.

Powwows, however, were commonly seen as social settings that respect the differences between Indian people, and one participant characterized them as places where Indian people can go to express their unique and individual Indian identities. In the words of a Generation 3 participant,

People like to go to powwows; it's kind of like if you go to high school and you see like all the jocks going someplace and they all hang out, and all the preps and then there's like the smokers or whatever, and then like the punk rockers and all that. It's kind of like that if you go to powwows. You go to powwows and you see all kind of different sorts of people, and then there's like the people that win all the time, and then there's like the people that go there just to have fun and have a good time. It's kind of like that.

Types of Indian Identities

When asked, most participants identified their ethnicity or cultural identity in one of two ways, either as American Indian in a general sense, or by identifying their tribal-specific affiliation, and in this way indicated a foundational orientation toward their cultural identity. In this section, presences within the structure, types of Indian identities, are discussed. These presences, described in participant narratives, include simultaneously having both a collective or shared Indian identity and a tribal-specific Indian identity, having a collective Indian identity only, or having a tribal-specific identity only. Other presences discussed here include the urban-specific Indian identity and subcultural Indian identities. To begin with, the details are revealed that relate to identifying simultaneously both as American Indian in a collective or shared sense and also in a tribal-specific way, a situation common to many participants.

Simultaneous Collective and Tribal-Specific Identities

The data revealed that participants may hold simultaneously both a collective Indian identity as well as a tribal-specific identity, or they may simultaneously feel a

sense of commonality with all American Indians, while noting that they are a member of a specific tribe. This was often expressed by a person, stating that he or she was “American Indian” and then adding his or her tribal affiliation, or by talking about his or her tribe, and then adding that he or she also identifies with other Indian people regardless of tribe. The following excerpt from the interview with a Generation 4 participant exemplifies this point:

[Interviewer:] So you identify with your particular group of Lakota people, and you’re in an area where there’s people from all kinds of different tribes. Do you also feel any connection to Indian people, just in general?

[Participant:] Yeah, I do. Yeah, I don’t think it really matters, here especially being an urban Indian, I don’t know if it really matters what tribe you are. You’re just Indian as a people; you’re just a group ya know.

[Interviewer:] So you can have your tribal-specific, but you also belong to a bigger group of Indian people?

[Participant:] Yeah.

A Generation 2 participant put it this way:

Somebody will ask me what I am, and I'll [say], I'm Indian, you know. Then the question, "Well, what tribe?" [Names tribe.] And they always say, "What? Where's that from?" So now I just say I'm [names tribe and state], I don't even give them the chance anymore.

A collective Indian identity, as expressed by participants in this study, was considered to be a person's sense that he or she belonged to the greater group of people jointly referred to as American Indian or Native American, but that within that group was a member of a specific tribe that had a unique history and its own distinctive tribal culture. A collective Indian identity, as described by participants, requires that an individual be able to recognize differences among tribes and tribal people within the larger group and to retain his or her tribal distinctiveness while interacting across tribal boundaries.

This collective Indian identity is differentiated from a *pan-Indian identity*. Although both identities have some identification with a wider collective of Native people, individuals with a pan-Indian identity are typically considered to be detribalized, in the sense that their Indian identity has melded beliefs, values, and practices from various tribal groups and they lack affiliation with any specific tribe (Nakao, 2002). The majority of study participants with a collective Indian identity, however, had not replaced their tribal-specific identity with a generic or detribalized Indianness, but rather related to other Indians as both a member of their specific tribal group and a member of the larger ethnic group, American Indian. All participants were aware of distinct differences in history, traditions, and cultural practices between their tribes and others, and in cases where they participated in ceremonies or other practices from a tribe other than their own, they did so from the stance of a guest or outsider, and with full awareness they were participating in something that belonged to another tribal culture.

Individuals with this dual Indian identity have differing levels of knowledge of and engagement with their tribal specific traditions, practices, and languages; they may participate in the traditions and practices of a tribe or tribes dominant in their urban area, but while doing so, they remain aware that they are a member of their own tribal group. The blurring of tribal boundaries, identified in the literature as a characteristic of pan-Indianness and the taking on of the traditions of other tribes in response to a lack of knowledge about one's own tribe, were not identified by participants who has this dual Indian identity as reasons for their inter-tribal interactions. Instead, participants crossed tribal boundaries as a means of demonstrating affiliation and solidarity with American Indians collectively, in order to support and sustain important social relationships with other American Indians in their urban community, because there were few other members of their tribe in the area, or to indicate an understanding of the shared history, political status, and social conditions of American Indians.

For some respondents, coming to hold a tribal-specific identity may be a developmental process that occurs at a later point in life, after a person has firmly established and is comfortable with a collective sense of being Indian. One Generation 3 participant explained it this way: “[In high school] I was in Albuquerque, so I was around a lot of Pueblos. I saw myself as an Indian person and identifying with these Indian people, but I really wasn’t defining myself Sicangu like I do now.”

Finally, respondents frequently commented upon identifying as Indian in different ways, depending upon whether they were identifying to a non-Indian person or to another Indian. Some participants represent themselves to non-Indians as being from a generalized group of Native Americans, whereas they represent themselves to other

Indians as being from their particular tribal group. A Generation 3 participant explained this to the interviewer as follows:

[Interviewer:] When someone asks you what your ethnicity is, how do you respond?

[Participant:] American Indian, or if it's another Native then I'll say Chippewa-Cree and Sicangu Lakota.

[Interviewer:] To just a general person, you would say American Indian; but if it's a Native person, you would say your tribe specifically?

[Participant:] Yes. (Generation 3)

Collective Indian Identity Only

In contrast to individuals who hold simultaneously both a collective and tribal-specific Indian identity, there are those individuals who identify only with a collective sense of Indianness. This may be a conscious decision reflecting a politicized understanding of the relationship between all tribal groups in the United States and the U.S. government as a colonizing force. It may also be a decision based upon historical and contextual factors that have limited an individual's ability to retain connections to his or her tribe; or it may be a personal decision, made despite the fact that an individual possesses rather extensive knowledge of his or her particular tribe or is from a family that has maintained strong tribal ties.

Urban Indian youth may hold a collective Indian identity as a result of having come to consider that the tribe a person is from does not matter in the urban environment. This may be especially true if they associate with other Indian youth from diverse tribes, and in some cases may result from a desire to be like other Indian peers.

Some Indian people of mixed heritage may identify only as being Indian, whereas others identify strongly with their specific tribal group. However, participants shared that when there is no longer a strong connection to tribal traditions and practices in a family, children of mixed heritage are likely to lose their Indian cultural identity, and in its place, simply consider their Indianness as being due to their having Indian ancestors.

An individual's physical location appears to have no effect upon either a collective Indian identity or tribal-specific Indian identity; these identities appear to remain stable across differences in physical location. Illustrating this, a Generation3 participant explained:

[Participant:] My connection is to the land of America! That's it!

[Interviewer:] So it's not just the reservation?

[Participant:] It's not just my reservation. I don't feel like that, that connection to the land. I can be a Native American wherever I am. It has nothing to do with land....What is, right here. It doesn't matter where I go. I could go overseas, and I'd still be a Native American. It doesn't matter about the land....It doesn't matter where I'm at. I've lived so many different places...it doesn't matter where you are, it matters what's here inside, who you are.

Another Generation 3 participant spoke about her collective Indian identity in this way:

[Participant:] I can still feel Sicangu here in Denver. Wherever I went, I would still be myself.

[IV:] Because it isn't about space, it's about what's inside?

[Participant:] Right.

One situation that does appear to support the development of a collective Indian identity is when an urban Indian person is from a tribe where there are few, or even no other tribal members living in the particular urban area. In this situation, an individual may develop a stronger collective Indian identity than specific tribal identity, as illustrated by the following two Generation 2 participants:

I've never met any other [names tribe] in Colorado. I guess the way I looked at it was that the Indian population in America is not that large to begin with, so there's more of this pan-Indianism where you reconnect with just other Indians. It doesn't matter so much, you know, tribes. . . . So it wasn't so much that I missed [name] Indians. It was just, you know, I felt a kinship with any Indian, you know? It wasn't so much that, because I kind of looked at my tribe as being a tribe that was less traditional and that I was kind of seeking out more traditional people, so that meant that I was actually going outside my tribe. . . . Oh, I guess I maybe look more at myself as an Indian.

And I have a lot of Navajo friends and I know a lot about that. Or we'd go to powwows, you know, down south, where we'd go. Like I said, I lived in North Dakota for a while, lived with that family, and they had a drum and I got to know a lot of their songs and their language and their ways. So I have no clue what, how we are, you know, as [names tribe], I don't know.

Some urban Indians may identify as being from a specific tribe yet feel little or no connection to that tribe; identifying by tribe becomes simply a more detailed way of saying that one is American Indian, as did one participant who felt a very weak connection to her tribe, but always stated the name of her tribe because she knew people would ask.

Tribal-Specific Indian Identity Only

Some respondents expressly rejected a collective Indian identity. These individuals may identify their ethnicity specifically around their membership in a tribal nation. In the words of a Generation 3 participant,

[Participant:] I'm a member of the Oglala Lakota Nation.

[Interviewer:] So when somebody asks you, you go to your specific tribe?

[Participant:] Yeah, nation I call it.

It may also be that an Indian person who is from a large tribe with many

subgroups identifies solely with a particular band and feels little connection to people from the other components of the larger tribal group. This was expressed by another Generation 3 participant as follows:

I don't really feel very connected [to Lakotas from other bands]. I mean there are a lot of Lakotas but not many of them identify as exactly Sicangu Lakota. Most of them just identify as Lakota. I don't feel very connected [to them].

An urban Indian person may have a tribal-specific Indian identity, despite having few remaining connections to his or her reservation. In these instances, an individual's tribe-specific identity can be solely an internalized state or sense of self that has few connections to other aspects of the experience of being from that tribe.

Challenges in Maintaining a Tribal-Specific Indian Identity

It may be difficult when living in an urban area for an Indian person to develop and maintain an exclusively tribal-specific Indian identity. When there is no one except members of his or her family in a particular urban area, an Indian person can find it difficult to know how people from his tribe are and to develop a tribal-specific Indian identity. It can also be difficult to maintain a strong tribal identity when outside forces are breaking down one's tribe's overall status as a tribe and therefore its unique identity, as one Generation 2 participant shared in the following exchange with the interviewer:

[Participant:] My tribe has a long history but ... now our tribe isn't even recognized by the government. So, you know, it's a situation now where my mom is the last generation of full bloods. There's really not many traditional people left. So I think that's kind of the way the government wanted it.

[Interviewer:] So are you kind of being absorbed into the [names other tribe] or what's happening?

[Participant:] Well, that's what they've done. We've become [names other tribe] members. . . . And so that's when we kind of lost our identification as [names his tribe].

Participants were aware that most non-Indians have little knowledge of Native people or their cultures; and because of their ignorance of tribal differences, they frequently project a generalized Indianness onto all Indians or see them as one homogeneous group. A number of participants reported that this was upsetting, because urban Indians are so aware of tribal differences as a result of living and interacting in a multi-tribal community. It was also upsetting to study participants that non-Indians did not recognize that living in an urban area made them different from their reservation-based counterparts.

Urban-Specific Indian Identity

Individuals holding an urban-specific Indian identity do not consider that their being from an urban area makes them “less Indian” than someone born on or living on a reservation. Their distinct urban Indian identity is constructed around the concept of having identity choices and then goes on to include specific identity aspects that they possess and that they feel their reservation-based peers may lack. These aspects are frequently conceptualized as skills, such as being aware of the traditions and practices of tribes other than one's own, being able to interact cross culturally with members of other ethnic groups, being knowledgeable of the expectations and behavioral norms of dominant culture institutions, and being adaptable and bicultural. An urban-specific Indian identity does not require that an individual have had any experience with their reservation nor maintained a strong connection to his or her tribal homeland. In fact, individuals holding an urban-specific Indian identity may consider that the ways they act, dress, and think, which in the urban environment set them apart from Whites and

members of other ethnic groups, also set them apart from their reservation counterparts, and thus reinforce a distinct urban Indian identity.

Urban Indians are often able to identify a range of ways that Indian people may express their cultural identity or sense of being Indian. Different cultural identity choices may be perceived to be available in the urban setting than are available when one lives on a reservation or in a tribal community. A Generation 3 participant described her identity choices as follows:

[Interviewer:] So Indian people are actually negotiating multiple Indian identities?

[Participant:] Yeah.

[Interviewer:] Like you could be Sicangu and then identify also with powwow, but then identify with the wider, a multi-tribal group?

[Participant:] Yeah. Yeah, or you can be a part of one and not another.

[Interviewer:] So you have choices?

[Participant:] Yeah, you have choices. It goes back to the, you know, we're independent; we have freedom.

[Interviewer:] Okay. So is that different than on the reservation?

[Participant:] Yes, I would think so, because you don't have that freedom. If you're on [names her reservation], it's like "I'd really like to go and do a Dine [ceremony]," whatever they do. And everybody would be like "whatever."

An urban Indian identity may also encompass sub-identities based upon an individual's connection to various aspects of being Indian in an urban setting. For example, an individual may have a powwow Indian identity related to participation in that community of Indian people, a professional Indian identity related to the work she does in an Indian agency, and a traditional identity related to holding values and participating in tribal-specific practices. These sub-identities together express the fullness of her urban Indianness.

Some urban Indians express that identifying as an urban Indian can be thought of as being realistic rather than pejorative, because it describes the context in which they

live rather than standing as a judgment of their Indianness. These individuals see the term more as situating an Indian person rather than as a description of the strength of the individual's Indian identity. However, for other individuals, an urban-specific Indian identity is a very personal and internalized identity, not dependent upon external cues and other reminders of Indianness, that has arisen due to the individual's isolation from other Indian people and the weakening of ties to his or her reservation or tribal community.

Indian Subcultural Identities

As described above, study participants frequently saw that a number of cultural identity choices were available to them. Among these choices were such Indian identities as non-substance using, bi-racial, activist, powwow, non-traditional, hard working, and genetic (where identity derives solely from genetic heritage). The three most prevalent of these identities—the non-substance user, the hard worker, and the nontraditional—are elaborated upon below.

An urban Indian person may identify as being an Indian person who has never been an alcoholic or drug user or as a person who has committed to living a substance-free life. This identity may, in part, be a reaction to the perceived extreme use of drugs and alcohol among reservation-based Indians. Identifying as a self-sufficient and hardworking Indian person may also be, in part, related to a rejection of the perception of reservation-based Indians as lazy and irresponsible.

Traditionality as a basis for Indian identity was problematic for some study participants. Considering that one lives by traditional values and practices structured identity for some individuals, whereas others believed that in order to say one is traditional, one must have been born and raised on the reservation. For these participants,

identifying as traditional was something that was considered to be unrealistic or out of reach. These individuals instead turned full circle and identified as non-traditional, yet still Indians, and constructed their identities around other aspects of their Indian experience (e.g., their ongoing connections to other Indian people).

Traditionality was also often equated with a rejection of Christianity and the embracing of traditional spirituality. Participants whose Indian identities had connections to Christianity, especially as experienced in uniquely Indian ways in their tribal communities, often felt that they had to reject identifying as traditional and instead see themselves as nontraditional because of their Christian faith.

Differences Between Urban and Reservation People and Context

Some participants perceived that a real difference exists between urban Indians and life in an urban area and reservation-based Indians and their lives on the reservation; this was expressed even in cases where the participant had had little interaction with reservation-based Indians. These differences position the urban Indian person, for the most part, in a positive light in relationship to reservation-based Indians and are attributed to factors related to the context in which the two groups live rather than anything inherent in the people themselves. Even when speaking of differences in areas such as work ethic or alcohol use, both older and younger adult as well as adolescent participants presented these differences as resulting from the negative effects of the reservation setting and decades of government-induced dependency, rather than as personal characteristics of the people themselves.

Oh yeah, it's way different just the way we live. Like when you go there [the reservation], if you're not used to it. It's complete culture shock because it's like poverty over there. Like they don't live as great as we do so, it makes you kind of realize how good you have it. So urban Indians

are definitely a lot different; I'd say we take a lot of things for granted.
(Generation 3 adolescent)

Here I have more dreams. I feel like I can go accomplish something. I can go to college, the college is right here. I can move to Denver. The city is full of all this excitement. But in Oklahoma, there's not much, you know?
(Generation 2)

I think I'm a much better person growing up here than I would be if I grew up on the rez. More self-sufficient, more everything, all the way around—more worldly to people, to society, to everything. (Generation 3 adult)

A lot of people my age on the reservation are extremely lost in alcoholism and partying and stuff and smoking weed; and me, I don't do none of that. I don't even smoke cigarettes, and when I go back home to the rez, that's all I see, just kids smoking weed and getting drunk, trying to find the next score as well. (Generation 3 young adult)

Participants revealed specific aspects of the differences they see between

themselves and their reservation-based counterparts. Being a harder worker and having a better work ethic than those living on the reservation was a difference that study participants repeatedly mentioned. In addition, participants saw urban Indians as being more adaptable to their environment, more independent, and able to accomplish more in life, as well as drinking less and living more responsibly. There was also a recognition that the urban environment requires that urban Indians think and act differently than Indians who live on their reservations. Finally, some participants mentioned that they feel it is harder for non-Indians to put negative stereotypes on them than it is for them to apply these stereotypes to reservation-based Indians, precisely because of the differences they identified.

Interestingly, however, for some participants, the differences between themselves and their reservation-based counterparts were expressed in ways that closely mirrored common stereotypes about Indians held by non-Indians, such as reservation-based Indians' reliance on government handouts, excessive drinking, poor work ethic, and lack

of direction in life. This was expressed by a Generation 2 and a Generation 3 participant, respectively, as follows:

I enjoy working. I like to raise my kids—because I have three sons—to be good providers and do the best they can. Because I was married to a Sioux man, who his family was raised all on the reservation and they were very, I guess, traditional, so to speak, and I didn't like it. I can't live like that, you know, with the drinking, and nobody wants to work, and all those sorts of things. I just can't. I'm not like that.

I think they [non-Indians] feel like we're [urban Indians] better, we're making it, we're trying, we're doing this, we're doing that, and out there I think they feel that we're [reservation Indians] not doing nothing, we're just letting the government take care of us, getting our monthly checks, and we're not doing anything. Whereas, we out here we're making a contribution to society, we're trying, we're making a living, we're doing stuff.

One Generation 3 participant, who took part in a job-training program with Indians coming directly from their reservations, felt these individuals did not appreciate the opportunity the program presented, because their tribal per capita checks prevented them from needing to be ambitious.

I think a lot of them went there just to get off the rez for awhile....They were there to have a good time. And a lot of them, too, they got their monthly checks . . . so it's like they're getting their money, they'd go out shoppin' wherever. You know, it's like why are you even here? You got money coming in, you don't want to make your life better. What's the point?

At the same time, some participants also felt that non-Indians see urban Indians as just the same as reservation-based Indians, and several found it upsetting that they would be stereotyped in the same way as are those living on the reservation. For example, one Generation 3 participant commented, "I think people perceive Indians and they have in their minds they view them as one, all from the reservation; they're all just that stereotype. They see somebody and they assume everybody is that way."

Because urban Indian people may see themselves as different from their reservation counterparts, they may not believe that they could be treated in the same racist or prejudiced ways that reservation-based Indians can be, and so may be surprised to experience negative treatment. A Generation 3 participant voiced it this way:

It was probably about 15 years ago, so I was older, and me and my mom; and I were in South Dakota and we were in this store and I remember the man working at the counter, there were a lot of people in the store, but me and my mom were probably the only brown people in there, but he followed us all over that store. That was the first time I really knew that somebody was singling us out because of the color of our skin. And I'm sure that's happened to me before, but I just kinda blew it off and didn't pay attention to it.

Negative experiences related to the reservation, such as the one in the above example, may create or reinforce an urban Indian person's feeling that they are different from reservation-based Indians, as it did for a Generation 2 participant:

I've never had a positive experience on the reservation, ever. Never. When I lived there, it was terrible, you know; we had to go back to Pine Ridge and get my friend who drank herself to death, that was terrible. She used to come here before she died, and she was telling me stories about trying to teach in the classrooms and the problem she was having with the kids; and you know, she wanted to teach them, but she was having to be more of a disciplinarian than a teacher. I've just never really had that good of an experience on the rez. Just never, never have. Never had a desire to live there I like the city.

Ethnic Misidentification

The urban American Indians participating in this study reported that they were frequently misidentified by non-Indians as being members of other ethnic groups. In fact, some participants reported that throughout their lives, they could remember only a few occasions on which they were correctly identified by others as being American Indian. A Generation 2 participant related this experience of ethnic misidentification as follows:

Usually people mistake me for everything else. I was called Filipino once, which I thought was kind of funny, because I'm kind of big to be Filipino. Samoan, my oldest son, everybody thinks he's Samoan, because he's six-

five, you know, about 300 pounds, goatee with long hair, and he looks Samoan. Or they think I'm Black or they think I'm Spanish; a lot of people speak Spanish to me without even knowing me, you know, that sort of thing. Nobody thinks I'm Indian. There's a few people who will say, "Oh, you're Native American, aren't you?" but not very often.

There is a large Latino population in the study city, and participants with dark skin and hair frequently have experienced being considered by others to be Mexican or from another Hispanic group; and they often experience, as the woman in the above quote shared, being expected to speak Spanish. The same Generation 2 participant related in the following quote a typical way in which non-Indians attempt to ascertain his ethnicity:

Just because of the way I look, darker skin, darker hair, that kind of thing. Actually what I get a lot of is that I look like somebody's relative or "you look my cousin." But they think I'm probably Mexican or Spanish, Italian. I get Italian a lot. When I went to Europe when I got out of college and I was in Italy, and tourists would come up to me and ask for directions. They thought I was Italian. Because I think a lot of people aren't really familiar with Indians, the first thing that comes to mind is what they're familiar with, and in this area it's more Latinos, and so they think, you know, I'm probably Mexican. And I experienced that a lot when I lived in California.

Other participants whose coloring is lighter and who may look more phenotypically White also experienced being misidentified and having difficulty being seen as American Indian, as in the case of the following Generation 3 participant:

It's hard for me because I'm more light skinned; and so, like in the regular White world, I pass as a White person. So it's hard for me to really identify or have people identify me as being American Indian.

Non-Indians from various ethnic groups may appear to participants to be unaware that there are Indian people with whom they interact, and these non-Indians often react with surprise when learning that someone they know is Indian. Another Generation 3 participant related the following scenario:

I was working with the oil company, and man, there's like this group of Mexicans and they're all speaking Spanish and they all tell me to come

over there, and they're all talking Spanish and one guy looks at me and he starts talking Spanish. I was like, "I don't understand what you're saying," and they all look at me and they're like, "What? You're Mexican right?" I'm like "No, I'm an Indian." . . . There's a group of White guys and they're all talking, and I go over there and I start listening to them . . . and they're like, "Oh, where're you from?" and all this stuff. I'm like, "I'm from Denver." They're like, "Yeah? You're Mexican," and I'm like, "No, I'm an Indian," and everyone gets shocked because they don't see a lot of us.

Several participants explained that on occasions when they have experienced racism or discrimination, they feel it was not because they were American Indian, but because they were thought to be a member of another ethnic minority group. In the words of a Generation 2 participant,

I've felt discrimination in my life, but it was more because people probably thought I was Mexican. It wasn't like they were discriminating against me because they thought I was Indian. Because I think very few people, like I said before, you know, look at me as an Indian. They kind of look at me like, "Where's that guy from?" Like after 9/11, I was at the airport and people thought I was Arab, I think, because, they were like really giving me the look over. And I was always the person that was taken at random for the special check.

The experience of having to assert one's Indian identity in the face of continual misidentification may actually strengthen cultural identity, as another Generation 2 participant shared in the quote below. His repeated struggles with other ethnic groups solidified his identification with being Native, and as he discussed in a section of his narrative following this quote, laid the foundation for the ongoing resistance to assimilation into the dominant culture in which he has been engaged since adolescence.

When I was growing up I had dark hair, I liked long hair. I grew up going to a predominately Hispanic school, but my last name was [says name], so the Hispanics thought I was a White guy, and the White guys thought I was Hispanic. I used to get in a lot of trouble, a lot of fights, fighting both [sides] because I wasn't either one. I knew who I was, I was a Native American; and that, I guess, in its way was a good thing for me, because it kept me in survival mode here living in Denver.

Elaboration and Discussion of Selected Cultural

Identity Styles and Presences

In a manner similar to what was done in the preceding section for several of the cultural identity structures, four cultural identity styles and their presences will be elaborated upon here. The styles discussed in detail below include (a) behaving Indian, (b) thinking and feeling Indian, (c) being bicultural, and (d) living in an Indian space in the city. This discussion begins with behaving Indian, a cultural identity style that points out the behaviors that study participants believed demonstrate their Indianness.

Behaving Indian

The cultural identity style, behaving Indian, contains seven presences, which together constitute behavioral aspects that expressed participants' American Indian cultural identity. These presences include (a) practicing traditions, (b) learning and demonstrating knowledge of Indian history and culture, (c) asserting one's Indianness, (d) engaging in social relationships with other Indians, (e) involving oneself in an urban Indian community, (f) being connected to the reservation/tribal community, and (g) recognizing familial relationships. The elaboration of this cultural identity style begins with the discussion of the presence, practicing traditions.

Practicing Traditions

Knowing and practicing tribal and other cultural traditions and taking part in traditional spirituality and ceremonies are important parts of *living Indian*, a phrase often used by participants. Living Indian was understood to be a behavioral expression of Indian identity wherein one lives in a way that demonstrates internalization of cultural values and behavioral norms, and the development of cognitive structures that reflect the

particular worldview that participants considered to be Indian. When one is living Indian, he or she is able to use these values, behavioral norms, and cognitive structures to order and direct his or her thinking and behavior across most, if not all, social and interpersonal contexts.

Living congruently with Indian values shared by many tribes, such as being generous and respecting elders, or in accordance with specific tribal norms, such as those directing appropriate gender role behaviors, are other ways that participants used traditions to express their cultural identities through their actions or behaviors. Powwow dancing and learning one's tribal language also provided outlets for expressing cultural identity, as did interactions with extended family members who were Indian.

For individuals who did not grow up with a strong Indian identity but began embracing their Indianness later in life, exposing one's children or younger family members to cultural practices or encouraging them to explore traditional spirituality strengthened and affirmed the individual's own Indian identity. Identifying with traditional people or respected family members who were themselves positive role models for feeling positive about being Indian was yet another way that participants expressed their own Indian identities.

Learning and Demonstrating Knowledge of Indian History and Culture

Learning about both Indian culture, in general, and about one's particular tribal group was an important way that participants not only developed their cultural identities but expressed the importance of those identities. Learning about Native culture could also lead an urban Indian person toward deciding what components to include in his or her Indian identity, reflecting some participants' belief that urban American Indians have

identity choices. Having one's questions answered about his or her tribal and family history, and family members' experiences related to being Indian was an experience that strengthened Indian identity. Reading about one's tribe's history and experiences was an important way that many participants used to supplement the information they learned from family and other Indian people. Some participants who had had little contact with their tribes understood, at a cognitive and emotional level, that having a tribal-specific identity is part of being American Indian. To develop their tribal-specific identity, they may have researched aspects of their tribal culture to gain a sense of who they are, and also undertaken efforts to help their children and grandchildren gain more tribal-specific knowledge. In cases where an individual belonged to a tribe that had lost many of its traditions, especially those related to traditional spirituality, one strategy participants employed to maintain their Indian identity was to learn about and practice the traditions of another tribe.

Identity can be reinforced by identifying that one has incorporated what has been learned about tribal values into the way one lives one's life. Indian identity can also be reinforced by demonstrating to others, especially non-Indians, that one is knowledgeable about his or her tribe and its traditions. Being able to teach non-Indians, as well as Indians from other tribes, about Indian life, as well as correct stereotypes about Indians, was a way that participants could express their Indian identity. This aspect of expressing identity, however, had its drawbacks. Many participants also related that they felt it a burden to be expected to be an authority on all things Indian and to have to educate non-Indians about the differences between American Indian groups—all the while feeling that

despite their efforts, what they were sharing might still not be well understood by non-Indians.

Asserting One's Indianness

Letting others know they are Indian was an important aspect of Indian identity for many participants. This was often done by purposely acting in ways different from members of the dominant culture or by purposely rejecting elements of the mainstream culture. A Generation 2 participant gave the following explanation:

We have our feet in two different worlds for most of the time, most of your life. It's kind of like a balancing act. Because if you put both your feet in mainstream, then you're totally assimilated, acculturated, and I'm so not. I mean, we all are to a certain extent, but you know . . . like I don't go to baseball games or Nuggets' games or football games, you know. I don't do any of that because that's a mainstream culture thing; that's what they do. . . . No, it's a mainstream thing; so I don't do any of those mainstream things at all.

Another means used to accentuate the difference between oneself as an Indian and a person who is non-Indian was to develop a behavioral repertoire that included an emphasis on behaviors that were considered to be Indian, while excluding others that were seen to be White. This also demonstrated active resistance to assimilation and thereby strengthened identification with Native culture. Some participants often set criteria for themselves about what constituted being Indian, and they might then judge other Indians, whether urban or reservation-based, by that standard of Indianness. Other participants, however, considered that Indian people express their Indian identities in many different ways and allowed for a wide range of expressions of cultural identity.

Other ways of asserting one's Indianness included openly expressing pride in one's Indian identity to non-Indians, engaging primarily in activities that are Native focused, becoming comfortable with using Indian humor, and wearing clothing or other

symbols of Native culture that were intended to extend an invitation to non-Indians to ask the individual about his or her connection to Native culture. Finally, a number of participants expressed that they considered how strongly a person acts and feels Indian and asserts his or her identity to be more of an indicator of Indianness than having a high blood quantum or looking phenotypically Indian.

Engaging in Social Relationships With Other Indians and Involving Oneself in an Urban Indian Community

Maintaining associations with other Indian people beyond one's family was a central and necessary part of participants' cultural identities. Finding other urban Indians with whom an individual felt a commonality, regardless of their tribal affiliation, strengthened identity, as did involvement in the local Indian community and participating in culture-focused activities and social gatherings with other Indian people. In the following two quotes, one Generation 2 participant related the importance of maintaining social relationships, and another Generation 2 participant spoke of his involvement in the urban Indian community:

It seems to me, I was able to associate my whole life with Native people; everything that happened around me centered around being Native Maybe it was the most important thing to me and I didn't even realize it until I started getting older; then it became even more important to me. I think that was what actually led me to the thought process of being more Native than just being someone who's assimilated and who could care less.

I worked at the Denver Indian Center . . . and I worked for [another Indian organization]. So I've done different projects. I worked on this Indian art project . . . I've sought out other Indians. Yeah, I have. When I went to [college], I had Indian friends. You know, I was involved with the Indian program there.

Many participants spoke of the powerful connection between their cultural identities and helping other Indian people or being of service to the Indian community, as

is reflected in the second quote above, as well as below in the words of a Generation 3 participant.

Then, a lot of the teachings that my grandparents had instilled in me were really coming to fruition when I got older. They always told me, when you're in a position to help other Indians, that's what you need to do; and I came to realize that I was in that position, so I needed to start giving back to the community, volunteering, you know, doing whatever I can.

Connecting to the Reservation/Tribal Community

An interesting paradox exists in relation to a number of participants' connections to their reservations or tribal communities. Although the vast majority of participants expressed that their Indian identity was not tied to their tribal land area and thus not affected by where they were living—that they would feel Indian no matter where they lived—some of these individuals also pointed out benefits to an individual's Indian identity of maintaining ties to their tribal community or going back to visit their reservation. For example, a Generation 3 participant related her views as follows:

But then my tribe didn't even have a reservation, it's not like you're going back to some place where you can feel like it's home and that there's tradition. So when we went back to Oklahoma, that was like the closest thing we had to returning to a reservation where you had some kind of traditional roots.

Another Generation 3 participant provided these thoughts on connecting to her reservation:

[Interviewer:] Are there some kinds of things that you do, and they could be activities or ways of thinking or ways of being, that help you feel more positive about being a Native woman?

[Participant:] Here in town?

[Interviewer:] Just in your life wherever it would be. It could be back there.

[Participant:] Well, just going to powwows; and when you go to the reservation, it's really nice to get reconnected with your family over there again and your culture, so that's how I personally do it.

[Interviewer:] So for you, going back sounds like that's the most powerful way for you to feel positive and connected.

[Participant:] Yeah.

Visiting one's reservation or tribal community or actually going back to live there for a short period was seen as an action that could strengthen and affirm an individual's Indian identity and impart a sense of being like others from his or her tribe, as in the case of a Generation 3 participant:

[Participant:] Well, it was always very tribal when we went back to Oklahoma. . . . It was almost like I was going home, because people didn't care who you were or what you wore, you know? It was just—they greeted you with open arms. The whole family would get together, all the cousins and aunts and uncles and we'd just have a great time sitting around the table telling stories. And, I mean, there's just this incredible unit of people, and I really miss that.

[Interviewer:] It sounds like you just felt comfortable and like you fit in. It sounds like you didn't feel really different, you felt better there?

[Participant:] Yeah. I felt better there than I did here.

[Interviewer:] Less different there than you did here?

[Participant:] Right. Yeah.

[Interviewer:] You said, when you first started that description, that everybody was really tribal. Now, I think being an Indian person I know what that means, but if we were going to explain that to somebody who'd never experienced what that was, what is that?

[Participant:] I guess to me there's—it means, like, cohesion of a group.

For one Generation 2 participant, visiting her reservation was also very reaffirming:

I had never felt like an outsider on my reservation, and to this day, go back there and never feel with the people that are my age and know me . . . to this day people back there know me and know who I am that are my age.

For some participants, the link they identified between their cultural identities and

their tribal communities seemed to really be describing the relationships they had with family members who continued to live on the reservation. A Generation 1 participant expressed this sentiment as follows:

[Interviewer:] It seems like you've still been able to somehow maintain a really strong feeling of connection to who you are?

[Participant:] Yes, that's very true.

[Interviewer:] How have you done that?

[Participant:] I think that one of the ways is, we have always gone back to visit our relatives. Our relatives are very dear and near. And we always

went backSo family was very important, and I think that that is a big connection.

[Interviewer:] So that connection has never been adversely affected by being here?

[Participant:] No, we always went back.

Recognizing Familial Relationships

Indian identity was instilled, in part, when parents discussed with participants, when children, their cultural heritages. Interactions with extended family members who were Indian also supported identity development. Having one's questions answered, regarding his or her Indian culture and family members' experiences of being Indian, strengthened cultural identity. Positive Indian identity was also fostered when study participants were young and were supported by interacting with family members who themselves were positive role models for feeling good about being Indian. In the words of a Generation 2 participant,

It's just always been there, Nancy, like I said, just with the traditional extended family, it's always been there, the core identity, because I always heard the language, always had extended family in my upbringing, involved in bringing me up, taking care of me, and I just always knew I was Lakota.

The quest to know more about oneself as an American Indian person was sometimes set in motion by the actions of a significant Indian family member. Seeking out information about one's ancestors and/or artifacts related to one's family or tribe also supported Indian identity development. Finding this information and engaging with it was a way that participants expressed their cultural identities. A Generation 2 participant described this quest in the following way:

[Interviewer:] Yeah. So at what point in your life did it then become important for you to understand more about who you were as a [names tribe] person and get that history?

[Participant:] I just think that's just kind of a natural progression for anybody just to want to know yourself. It's a difficult thing to do, but that's a big part of me, because I think it's for many reasons. It's

something I'm proud of, but it's also something that makes me unique, you know, people recognize me as someone different. And then they always ask me, so it just kind of reinforces who I am.

[Interviewer:] So there wasn't a particular time when you saw it may be important?

[Participant:] I can't really say a particular time, but I just think as you get older, you learn more about yourself. And since I was a young kid, I've always had an interest.

Thinking and Feeling Indian

This style presents cognitive and emotional schemas and strategies that participants had developed or engaged in that gave them a sense that they were American Indian. The presences within this cultural identity style include (a) feeling commonality with other Indians, (b) coming to identify as Indian, (c) looking Indian, and (d) situating Indianness in the urban environment.

Feeling Commonality With Other Indians

Identifying that one is like other Indian people was an important way that participants lived out their cultural identities. Taking on positive aspects of a respected family member or embracing images of traditional people and trying to live by the values these individual embody supported some participants' feelings of being Indian. Others achieved this sense by identifying themselves with the positive characteristics of their tribe or Native group. Some study participants chose to identify with other Indians through the different Indian subcultures present in the urban environment (e.g., powwow, tribal-specific, professional).

Participants often expressed that they saw themselves as belonging to a collective or shared Indianness in which all Indians are related and where there is a relative equality or sameness of tribes. Many participants, however, maintained both a simultaneous identification with Indians, in general, and with their specific tribal group (see p.142 for

further discussion). Their collective Indian identity gave these individuals a sense that they were connected to all other Indian people in the urban area in which they lived, while their tribal-specific identity allowed them to feel an individual distinctiveness within the collective group. Interestingly, seeing that one has commonalities with other Indian people in the urban setting—regardless of their tribal affiliation—often strengthened the individual’s tribal-specific Indian identity, not just his or her collective Indian identity.

Several study participants who were either conflicted about their Indian identity or whose Indian identity had not emerged strongly reported that at times they felt intimidated by other Indians who expressed very strong Indian identities. One participant felt she should not identify as Indian, because she had not had certain Indian experiences that she felt others had, and this discouraged her from pursuing further development of her Indian identity.

At times, some participants found themselves identifying with members of other ethnic groups, especially in situations where there were few, if any, other Indians with whom to form important social alliances. In other situations, a participant might have hidden his or her Indianness by identifying as being from another ethnic group, as a way to avoid feeling different and avoid being repeatedly asked to explain about being Indian or educate others about Indians.

Coming to Identify as Indian

For many participants, coming to identify as American Indian occurred much more through a process of self-discovery involving internal questioning and reflection

than by receiving external affirmation of their identity. A Generation 2 participant explained this process as follows:

It's probably the best thing is you have to look at yourself first, and say, "Who am I? Who do I want to be? Do I want to be just another face in this endless changing society, or do I want to be Native American?"
These participants had often spent a good amount of time thinking about being

Indian and especially about the cultural values that must be embraced and exhibited in order to feel one lives in a way that is congruent with being Indian. Constructing and maintaining their Indian identity was seen to have been accomplished by internalizing particular cultural values and defining them as an important part of who the person is.

This was clearly illustrated by a Generation 3 participant:

[Interviewer:] Are there things that you do, like the ways that you think about your life, that help you feel connected or create who you are as an Indian person?

[Participant:] Yeah, definitely. I think it's pretty much all the time. I really believe in the interconnectedness and the fact that everything I do is going to affect somebody else. So whether it be letting an elder go ahead in line at the grocery store or just small things, I really think that as an Indian person things are interconnected, so that what I do 24/7 is affecting someone else.

[Interviewer:] Okay, so you're thinking about that all the time and kind of gauging how you should act or the actions that you take?

[Participant:] Yeah, definitely . . . The general Lakota values, that's always in the back of my head. Am I following my ways?

[Interviewer:] So you're gauging yourself against these values and asking, "How well am I living up to those or acting those values out?"

[Participant:] Yeah.

Participants spoke of the importance of internalizing Indian values and traditions in order to help structure and stabilize Indian identity when living in and continually interacting with a non-Indian urban world in which they may feel they do not fit. A Generation 2 and a Generation 3 participant, respectively, conveyed this importance in the following two quotes:

It's being balanced when you have to deal with the society that you're not sure what's going to happen with tomorrow, which is this society, you always tend to hold onto some of those things that you learned from your people . . . some of those traditions and that heritage that you grew up with, some of those values, some of those morals that are not totally recognized in Native people. It comes from seeing what people on the reservations did, or do, and comparing that to the city we live in here.

I never really feel like I fit in in the outside world. I don't get a lot of people. For one, they don't have the same values, the same family value type of things, and so that's really difficult for me when someone is disrespecting their mother or father.

Participants recognized, however, that Indian persons, who are not strongly

identified with being Indian and have not "grown up Indian," may use psychological defenses to shield themselves from the conflicts and discomfort that arise when they try to connect with their Indianness and their cultural ways. An example of such a defense can be seen in the statement of one Generation 3 participant who, earlier in her narrative, had expressed ambivalence about embracing her Native identity and felt she might not deserve to call herself Indian:

I'm gonna embrace it ["my thing"] and I'm gonna do what I want to do 'cause I think that's who I am. I've always been a little off with how I dress or color my hair, and so when it came time to get my own house and do what I want, I'm like, "this is what I'm gonna do. This is me." . . . I'm focusing on me. I'm focusing on who I want to be, what I want to be, and not making like race or religion or anything part of it.

Looking Indian

To some degree, most participants compared themselves and other family members against an unwritten standard of *looking Indian*. Looking Indian, in and of itself, however, was not considered a guarantee that an individual would identify psychologically as American Indian. At the same time, however, how Indian one looks was mentioned by numerous participants as playing an important role in how easy it is for an individual to be Indian, because looking Indian makes dealing with other elements

of cultural identity much easier than not looking Indian. For example, ascertaining that one has physical similarities to others from one's tribe or that one looks like a member of that group can play an important role in strengthening tribal-specific identity and creating a feeling of belonging with other tribal members.

Individuals who were less phenotypically Indian often relied on being related to other family members who are more readily identifiable as Indian. This was clearly the case for a Generation 3 participant, as illustrated in the quote below:

And it's hard for me because I'm more light skinned, and so like in the regular White world, I pass as a White person. So it's hard for me to really identify or have people identify me as being American Indian. But as far as powwows and things, I've been to a couple. . . . And part of me, I just never really felt confident, just because I didn't feel like I fit in, just because of my skin color. . . unless I'm with my mom and my brothers, who are darker, of course, then I feel okay. But if I just go by myself, sometimes I feel like an imposter.

On the other hand, being phenotypically White and not identified by others as Indian can allow an individual to psychologically distance him or herself from the negative aspects of Indian culture and Indian experience. Being phenotypically ambiguous can also allow an individual to employ strategies that involve moving between different ethnic identities, depending upon the situation. One Generation 3 participant described how she handled the challenge of being phenotypically ambiguous:

[Interviewer:] So it sounds like the real important identity pieces are held inside?

[Participant:] I've really had to like just keep what's inside, because it's been difficult for me to have the physical identity of American Indian. It's been real easy for me to be a little bit more judgmental, which is something I've worked on. Like I'll see a homeless [Indian] person and immediately I'm like, "Oh, they're just a drunk Indian," and it's like, "Thank God I'm not them." But then I feel really bad that I've just said that. But part of me says, "Well, I can hide. No one knows that I'm related to those people," and so I've struggled with that for a long time. And I would say, just in the last probably 20 years, I've really decided to stop and just embrace as much as I can my identity for American Indian. But

when I was younger, I just really wanted to be White, and it was just easier for me to fit in with people, I think.

Another Generation 3 participant explained how she faced this challenge:

[Interviewer:] How do you identify your ethnicity if someone were to ask you?

[Participant:] Native American. Well, it depends. Sometimes because I've been in situations or events, either Latino or Native American.

[Interviewer:] Okay, and tell me a little bit about the different situations.

[Participant:] Well, like applying for jobs. I've found sometimes if they think I'm White I'd get the job, and if I'm Mexican or Indian I won't get it. But then on the other hand, I've gotten jobs because I was an Indian or a Mexican.

[Interviewer:] So you really have like multiple ethnicities?

[Participant:] Yeah, yeah, and me and my friend, we like applied for the same job, they were going to give me the job and they wouldn't give her the job, because she has dark skin and dark hair, which you can't tell by me half the time, most Mexicans and Indians can tell, but a lot of White people they can't tell.

[Interviewer:] So to the external world, you will kind of determine and use some kind of criteria that you have for how to identify?

[Participant:] Yeah, it depends on what the situation is.

Situating One's Indianness in the Urban Environment

An urban Indian person may feel that as an Indian, he or she is situated in between the dominant or mainstream culture and traditional Indian culture. Living in this middle place between the Indian and non-Indian worlds may actually give an urban Indian person a feeling of more control over his life than if he were living solely in one context or the other. One Generation 2 participant, who experienced himself living in between the world of his reservation and the urban world because he felt he was not a part of either, explained:

I'm living this between both societies, and that in itself takes me to another place When I look at friends in both worlds, I feel that I'm more balanced and in control of my life than either one of them are, and I have a lot of friends who do live on the reservations and a lot of friends who don't. Sometimes I envy those who don't live on the reservation because, sometimes it seems to me like they might have newer cars, bigger

houses and all that, but then I see ‘em try to get back to where they’re from and they just don’t fit in. . . . And then my other friends are just totally, “I’m goin’ back to the rez.” Ya know, I’m gonna do what I’m goin’ do over there.” I’ve probably rejected both worlds at one time. That’s why I got stuck in the middle, and I was able to make it work. Some urban Indian people may feel that where they live has little bearing on their

Indianness, because Indian identity is an internal state or is derived from one having Indian blood. From their standpoint, Indian identity is neither determined nor affected by where the individual may be living. For example, one Generation 2 participant commented, “And you know, basically we can be anywhere we want, you know, just because there’s reservations set aside for us, we don’t have to live there and not be Indian when we’re not there.” Another participant (Generation 3) explained that she could be Native American anywhere as follows:

[Participant:] I just always thought that is who I am, that I’m from Denver but my roots, I guess you could say, are from [name of her reservation]. But I just have never thought of that as my home.

[Interviewer:] It’s not your home and you don’t have to be there in order to feel who you are as an American Indian person?

[Participant:] No. I don’t think that’s gonna change whether I live there or here—I’m still me. Because we were born here, I guess it doesn’t change anything; it doesn’t change your blood. . . . I’m still a part of my grandma. Yeah, that doesn’t change no matter where you live, because you still have that blood in you.

I can be a Native American wherever I am. It has nothing to do with land . . . but that doesn’t have nuthin’ to do with it. . . . What is, right here. It doesn’t matter where I go. I could go overseas, and I’d still be a Native American. It doesn’t matter about the land. . . . Exactly, that has nothing to do with it . . . my grandma and all that, it’s great you know, but it doesn’t matter where they came from—North Dakota, South Dakota, here, there, wherever. What matters is here, what you were taught. Your moral standards, good, bad, you know. Don’t lie, cheat, steal, be proud of who you are; you can accomplish anything.

Despite most participants seeing their Indianness fundamentally as an internal state, lack of outside recognition by others in an urban area can still affect how Indian one feels. An individual from a tribe that is not commonly recognized or has few

representatives in a particular geographical area may have experienced that both non-Indians and other Indians give them little recognition as an Indian. These individuals may be surprised to find that when they travel to an area closer to their tribal homeland, people show interest in their Indianness. One participant, whose mother was the only person from her tribe to live in the study city, remembered being made fun of by members of the majority tribe in the city, but recalled that when she went back East, “everybody would find out I was Indian and then it was like, you know, it was a big thing, I guess.”

Being Bicultural

Being bicultural is a cultural identity style that identifies the strategies that participants had developed to maintain Indian identity, while also negotiating non-Indian society and its social institutions. Living in an urban area required participants to successfully negotiate both the mainstream culture and American Indian culture. A young woman who represents Generation 3 in her family shared how her grandfather modeled this for her family:

[Interviewer:] So would you say that your grandpa set this kind of precedent or way that you could be independent, successful in the mainstream culture and work and things like that and could still hold your Lakota values and you could still stay strong together as a family. . . that one didn't cancel out the other?

[Participant:] Yes, yes. . . . [with] my grandpa and grandma being able to come in and integrate into this society here and establish you know, my grandpa went to work, buys a house, and have new cars, and still be able to maintain that Lakota culture, and keep the family together and pass that along to us is just amazing to me. . . . That's a part of your Lakota strength, is being able to do that, is being able to be independent. What I mean is independent in a sense where you know you have to do what you need to do for yourself, but yet you have to help others too, but you're a part of your whole family. You're independent in the fact that you can make your own choices . . . but I still depend on my family. I still depend

on the community And that's what gave me the ability to be where I am, is my Lakota strength.

When an urban Indian person is flexible and adaptable, he can use his strong

Indian identity to handle challenges that arise when needing to transition back and forth between Indian and non-Indian culture. Identifying as American Indian while living in an urban area is thus not totally a process of maintaining traditions and cultural connections, but may involve, instead, finding a balance between engaging with modern society and engaging with one's heritage and traditions. The following quote gives an example of one Generation 2 participant's viewpoint on how this is done:

[Participant:] I think by maintaining some sense of tradition and heritage, you have to be in the middle of them; you can't totally be assimilated into society but yet you have to react to the negatives, in my mind what are negatives in our society, and yet you can't just give up and go the other direction by just being on drugs and alcohol.

[Interviewer:] So am I hearing you say you have to balance the Indian part and the dominant culture, the pressures from the dominant culture and your Indian stuff, and somehow find a balance?

[Participant:] Yeah. If you want heritage and traditions, those things are very scarce and rare. They don't survive in the city the way that you think they might. They survive in people that I guess are people who use traditions and heritage that they grew up seeing and learning It's who they are because of what they've seen. In my case, I've seen both worlds clear as day. I grew up powwowing. I danced for 25 years and went to powwows like every weekend for years and years. That was who I could relate to, those people. So I've seen some of the traditions and things, but here in the big cities, you can't act that way, you can't use those, they just don't work, those things that you've seen and taught yourself and that they use on the reservations and in the powwows.

[Interviewer:] Like what's an example of one of those things that doesn't work?

[Participant:] Well, being naïve in the big city, and how to get around and not to go up to people and open up to them and talk to them, and just be yourself.

[Interviewer:] The way you would if you were back home.

[Participant:] Exactly. When you try to do that here, of course, people take advantage of you.

From the perspective of many participants, an urban Indian person is constantly required to balance back and forth between the Indian world with its Indian ways of

being and acting, and the non-Indian world and its ways of being and acting. One

Generation 2 participant explained the way he thinks about this in the quote below:

I can't let myself be totally Native all of the time, or I can't let myself be totally assimilated either. Again you get back to that balance, and to me, that's the only logical thing to do. I don't know how else to deal with life as I know it either way, either on the rez or here. To me, it's the same balancing act whether I'm there or here. It never changes, so it's not hard for me to go from here to there or back again. It never has been. I've lived on the rez, I've lived in Rapid City where there are a number of assimilated Native people, and Albuquerque, New Mexico, same deal. So it's never been hard for me to go slip into the rez and slip out of the rez, back and forth, that's because I guess I respected Native ways and yet I was able to survive in this society.

Knowing how to act both in the mainstream culture and in the Indian world is a

skill required of urban American Indians. A Generation 2 participant explained this as

follows:

[Participant:] I think we adapt in, you know, rules, there's unspoken rules in society. And you know mainstream society, there's all these rules that are unspoken and there's all these classes, there's a hierarchy. And so, we Indian people, we adapt in those areas. We have to.

[Interviewer:] So I'm wondering if what you're describing is like you have to hold two different ways of being and acting; you have to know the mainstream culture and what their rules are and then you know who you are as an Indian person?

[Participant:] Yes, exactly. We have our feet in two different worlds for most of the time. Most of your life it's kind of like a balancing act.

Urban Indians must possess an awareness and ability to understand when it is

appropriate to interact using traditional Indian ways and when it is necessary to use non-

Indian ways. Most participants believe that this skill actually strengthens Indian identity

in that it requires individuals who possess it to have thought deeply about the differences

between the ways that non-Indians think about and do things and how these same things

would be done or thought about from a cultural standpoint. In order to distinguish these

differences, an urban Indian person must first understand what it is to be Indian and how

that is expressed behaviorally and cognitively.

Living in an Indian Space in the City

This cultural identity style reveals how some urban Indians cognitively, emotionally, spiritually, and often even physically create an “Indian space in the city” or a “third space” that is unique from other spaces either in the city or on one’s reservation/tribal community. This Indian space may have been created without conscious thought or effort on the part of the urban Indian person, yet it must be recognized in order for the individual to best utilize its beneficial aspects. Participants described it as a space where one can go to feel Indian. In that space, one knows who one is, and it is easy to be Indian; when one is outside that space, it often feels more difficult or complicated to be Indian.

One way in which an Indian space in the city can be conceptualized is as if it was a bubble or other similarly bounded space, which has a permeable barrier that is under the control of the individual. Once inside, the urban Indian person can allow in other people or parts of his environment that support and reinforce his Indianness and can also keep that Indianness insulated or protected from outside elements that might disrupt or unbalance it.

An Indian space in the city often reflects an individual’s own personal Indianness; and within this space, he or she may re-create the feeling of belongingness and cohesion that is felt with family and in settings that are Indian-focused, such as on the reservation, at traditional ceremonies, or when attending powwows. Inside this space, the urban Indian person can engage with his or her Indianness and elements of Indian culture in a way that supports and strengthens identity and connection to culture. Inside this Indian

space, the individual is also able to connect to important aspects of his or her identity in an environment that is relaxed and where he or she can be him or herself.

Participants speak of their personal Indian space in the city as something that provides them with a feeling of control over their lives and as something that helps them to successfully confront the demands of the dominant culture without losing their connection to being Indian. In fact, this space may actually help an individual to be more comfortable in the Indian world as well, by giving him or her a place in which to think about and grow his or her Indian identity in a safe and non-judgmental environment, as illustrated in the following scenario provided by a Generation 3 participant:

[Participant:] And for my own space, you know, my house is; I do have some things there that I do, my ritual or just going out, walking my dog or something. To me, that's where I can do my own thing. Or just being with my mom and brother, I just feel more relaxed, I guess. I feel connected. I guess I have this disconnect when I'm out in mainstream. It's almost like, I don't know the word for it, but when you're in a tribe of people you almost have that psychic bond; memories are being handed down and stories are handed down. And when you're away from that group, you don't have that connection with people anymore. You don't have that familiarity. And so when I'm off here, I feel off kilter, and I can't connect with people as strongly as I want to. But when I'm over in this space, it's like everything's connected again, and I don't need to say much. I can just sit there and be.

[Interviewer:] So where is this space that you described, where that happens?

[Participant:] Well, I guess I've created it in my own way. I have several close friends that, you know, they're not Native, but I've created almost this family cohesion unit of friends. And I'm able to be that with them. I'm able to have that same, almost that same feeling as I did in Oklahoma. . . . I've had to find these people that are right for me. And, you know, I'm right for them. And so I have maybe a strong unit of maybe about six people, and so that's what I've had to create.

In the next three exchanges with the interviewer, two Generation 2 participants and one Generation 1 participant, respectively, talked about their own special Indian space in the city as follows:

[Interviewer:] I just want to ask you about one thing that a number of people have talked about it, and it may be your experience or it may not be. People have talked about being an Indian person in the city, they kind of create their own space, their own Indian space that's around them. You're shaking [your head] so that must ring a bell to you.

[Participant:] Yeah. Well, I kind of do that here in my home. I do little things, and I've had to do a lot of explaining to my husband because, you know—'course he's used to it by now, but just little things . . . like if I smudge the house, like on Sunday mornings, I have my little meditation kind of thing that I do on my own and I clean house and smudge the house and smudge everybody in it, and just little things, like the eagle feathers over the door for protection and blessings. Just things like that, nothing really too . . .

[Interviewer:] But it's your own space? Your own Indian space that you create?

[Participant:] Right, it is. Just little things I do like that. It's nothing really extravagant or anything. Like I cook all the time, I'm always in the kitchen, I'm dropping food—I remember when [my friend] passed away and we had just gotten back from Pine Ridge, and it was just before the wake. I was cooking and I had a whole bunch of people over, and it was so funny because everybody kept dropping their food on the floor and all this; and so we made her a plate and put it outside. Just little things like that that we do, still do.

[Participant:] I'm not totally traditional, not totally anything, but I'm living this between both societies; and that in itself takes me to another place, like the other people that are actually totally traditionalists.

[Interviewer:] That's interesting how you describe you go to a different place . . . You found that space and created it?

[Participant:] Well that's the way I feel. I created that for myself, and that's something I'll always hold throughout my entire life . . . I know it's there; it exists so it's probably something that just developed kinda like by itself over the years, and I didn't really try to create it. It just happened to me. And a lot of people I could see it not happening to, so that's where they get a little frustrated where they stand. I'm either this person outside my culture or this person who's so wrapped up into my culture I'm just being slammed by this world we live in.

[Interviewer:] So then there's another place; you don't have to live in either of those extremes? There's another place that you can [be]?

[Participant:] Yeah. . . . I think you have to develop it for it to be real; and as far as me thinking about it and developing it, I didn't really do that. It just kinda happened for me. And I think by that happening or by me experiencing it, that I kinda latched onto it, and I haven't let go. I don't plan on lettin' go of it . . . and I think [for] a lot of the people, that make it in both worlds that's kinda how they feel or that's kinda what happens to them.

[Interviewer:] They find that middle place or that.

[Participant:] Middle ground. . . . And what's that? I've probably rejected both worlds at one time. That's why I got stuck in the middle, and I was able to make it work. For me, it has worked. I can't deny and I've never really gotten in trouble here, or I've never had that many problems.

[Interviewer:] I had one man kind of describe this to me in a way. He said, "Indians exist in the city in a third space." He said, "Sometimes you go out and you deal with the White culture, the dominant culture, and you know you can get along fine; you can go to work, do everything. Then you have like your Indian way that's totally separate from that. Then there's like your reservation you're from. And that's another world. You're not really part of that, but you're connected to it. But you're also kind of separate from it." So you're not totally connected either to the White world or the reservation world; you exist in another space. He called it an Indian space.

[Participant:] Yeah, uh huh. Yep . . . you are. Yeah, that's how I see it. It's like we have our own little space, somewhere, that we've formed, so we get together and sometimes it's practicing old ways, you know? I'm still thinking we still do. You know, we do sweats.

[Interviewer:] So there's this Indian space even though you're in the city?

[Participant:] Yep. Yeah, there is.

[Interviewer:] And you can keep it separate from the non-Indian culture?

[Participant:] Oh, yeah, yeah. That's what I'm saying.

Selected Individual Descriptive Syntheses of Cultural Identity

The individual expressions of the cultural identity structures and styles—what Giorgi would term *situated descriptions*—were synthesized into a narrative depiction of the phenomenon as experienced by study participants. These stories illustrate the unique and varied ways that participants combine and express the cultural identity structures and styles. Presented below are the individual descriptive syntheses of cultural identity for six participants who represent Generations 1 through 4. (The complete set of individual descriptive syntheses can be found in Appendix 4)

Rose—Generation 1

Rose's concept of Indian identity is synonymous with that of tribal *heritage*. Thus, her cultural identity is specific to her tribe, and an important part of that identity is related to her knowing the history of her tribe and its struggles to maintain its own

identity as a distinct tribal group. She has read a great deal about her tribe's history as a way of reinforcing her tribal-specific Indian identity. Rose constructs her Indian identity as an extension of her tribe's past history, and this causes her to focus on her heritage rather than on her contemporary experiences of being an Indian person. Rose speaks of carrying her heritage internally in a way similar to the way others speak of having internalized their cultural identity.

Rose always lets people know, wherever she goes, that she is an Indian, and specifically one from her particular tribe. It is important to sustaining Rose's identity that people know she is Indian, and she conveys this both through her classically Indian phenotype as well as her ability to talk to non-Indians about the history of her tribe. She expresses pride in being an Indian person from her tribe in public speaking appearances where she teaches non-Indian groups about her tribe's historical experiences. Thus, one way Rose constructs and reinforces her Indian identity is by presenting herself as a person who educates non-Indians about Indian people and corrects stereotypes. In fact, Rose's image of herself is that of a person who has expertise on Indian life and history.

Rose considers her cultural identity to be an internalized sense of who she is—an Indian from her specific tribe. This strongly internalized sense of being an Indian person is unaffected by her physical location, although she admits that it is easier to have an Indian identity in Oklahoma, because White people there are more aware of Indians. She believes that moving to Denver had no effect on her identity as an Indian person, in general, nor as one from her tribe.

An important piece of her Indian identity is tied to her past experiences of being Indian in Oklahoma and to her connection to her relatives that lived there. However,

Rose's tribal-specific Indian identity is not dependent upon being with other people from her tribe or living in her tribal area. She has maintained a strong feeling of being a tribal member, despite living in a city where there are no other people from her tribe, by going back to visit her relatives in Oklahoma.

Rose believes that not speaking her language, going to boarding school, and being affected by other assimilative processes have caused her to lose some of her Indian identity. Although it is important to have non-Indians know she is Indian, she also sees that a part of her is similar to White people, and she feels she can interact comfortably with them as if she were one of them. Finally, Rose sees who she is as an Indian person as different from who her children and grandchildren are as Indians. Rather than identifying her children and grandchildren as Indian through their tribal blood, Rose identifies them more as White than Indian because of their phenotypes. She expresses this also in leaving it up to them to identify as Indian or not.

Marie—Generation 2

Marie's Indian identity is a core part of her that was established early in life and is not defined by or connected to being physically located on her reservation. In her words, she can be Lakota anywhere. Marie is an American Indian person of mixed heritage, and although during high school she identified somewhat with Chicanos, which gave her a sense of being part of a social group, as an adult she identifies solely as Lakota. To her, this identification expresses her relationship to people from all of the bands of the Lakota, not just her specific tribal group, and increases the scope of her cultural identity and relatedness to other Lakota people. Learning the meaning of the Lakota people's traditional name was a piece of Marie's cultural identity development which instilled

pride in her about her identity. Because of this, she does not identify herself as American Indian in the collective or shared sense but instead asserts her tribal membership and her relationship to all Lakota people and in doing so affirms her cultural identity.

Having knowledge of who are her relatives on the reservation, as well as their individual familial relationships to her, is an important part of Marie's cultural identity. Purposely taking steps to maintain this knowledge, despite living off reservation, strengthens her identity. She identifies herself as a member of a large and well-known family from her reservation, where she feels she fits in because of these familial ties as well as her status as a tribal member. Marie's Indian identity is based in large part on seeing herself as similar to members of her large extended family who continue to live on the reservation, and so her identity is not impacted by her living off reservation and in an urban area. The foundation of her cultural identity, she believes, was established as a young child through interactions with her Indian extended family members, and then her identity became firmly internalized over time through exposure to elements of her culture, such as language and the environment.

Powwow dancing and speaking her Native language are also important aspects of Marie's cultural identity. She has used powwow dancing to assert her Indian identity and believes it is a way through which her children and other urban Indian young people can identify as Indian. She has been careful to maintain her tribal distinctiveness in the intertribal powwow world by making sure her powwow regalia and the way she dances are consistent with her particular tribe's ways. She believes that urban powwow Indians often cross tribal boundaries by using designs and symbols on their regalia of tribes other than their own. and thereby weaken their identification with their specific tribal cultures

Despite the tribal-specific focus of her powwow involvement, Marie also sees urban Indians as living with their feet in two different worlds most of the time. On a day-to-day basis, Marie resists involvement in mainstream culture because it is inconsistent with the Lakota values she lives by and thus also inconsistent with her identity as a Lakota woman. This being the case, Marie also realizes that as an urban Indian, she must be flexible and adaptable in order to survive in the urban environment. She has constructed an Indian identity that allows her to adapt to the urban environment by knowing how to act in the mainstream culture, without losing or giving up her Indian values, her sensitivity to cultural norms and modes of behavior, and the ways she expresses her Indianness. In order to do this, she has had to analyze and become acutely aware of the differences between Indian culture and its values and the dominant culture and its values. This process has been instrumental in strengthening her cultural identity. This identity—the strong sense of who she is as a Lakota woman—helps Marie know what she wants in life and succeed in accomplishing goals, both within the Indian and the non-Indian worlds, while remaining comfortable in both.

William—Generation 2

Since childhood, William has identified as a member of his tribe, although he is of mixed American Indian and European heritage; when asked by others about his ethnicity, he will identify both sides of his heritage and then give his specific tribal affiliation. William's desire to identify as a member of his small tribe has been growing since he was a child, but he identifies political factors, such as the tribe's loss of federal recognition and absorption into another tribe, as making it difficult for him to maintain a strong tribal-specific Indian identity. As a result, William also maintains a collective Indian

identity, which at this point in his life, is stronger than his tribal-specific identity. His collective Indian identity is reinforced by his feelings of kinship with all Indians because of their small number relative to the population of other ethnic groups. Identifying with and seeking out connections with other Indian people is an important part of his cultural identity; and social involvement with other Indians, working in Indian-focused jobs, volunteering in the Indian community, and researching his tribe are all elements that contribute to strengthening William's Indian identity.

William equates a certain phenotype with being identified by others as Indian. Although he feels he can be more easily identified as Indian because he is one of the more "Indian looking" members of his family and tribe, he is also aware that in most instances, other people do not identify him as being Indian. William has had many experiences where an incorrect judgment as to his ethnicity has been made based solely upon his physical appearance and dark coloring, and he attributes this to a widespread unfamiliarity with American Indians. He most frequently experiences being misidentified as Mexican, but at times is also thought to be Italian or Middle Eastern. He has experienced racism and discrimination that he feels was aimed at individuals from those groups or was simply because of his skin color, but not because he was American Indian.

William is currently reflecting upon his Indianness as he goes through a major life transition. He is reaching out to his mother to help him learn more about who he is as a tribal person, for information about his family's experiences of being Indian, and to learn about his tribe's traditions. These efforts are a way of strengthening and growing his cultural identity and lessening the acculturation he feels. It has been difficult, however, for William to get the information he needs about his family and tribe into order to better

understand his identity and integrate its meaning. He attributes this to coming from a family where he feels many members, even those in Oklahoma, are acculturated.

Having Indian blood makes him inherently different from non-Indians, William believes, and it also causes him to look at the world differently. He attributes his identifying as American Indian and holding Indian values to be why he does not fit into today's society as well as a White man would. Along with having Indian blood, maintaining tribal traditions, such as receiving an Indian name, is an important part of his cultural identity; and knowing that many of his tribe's traditions have been lost has left him feeling that something is missing from his cultural identity.

Melissa—Generation 3

Melissa identifies her ethnicity to others as Native and Latina. She makes a distinction between ethnicity and her identity; her Native ethnicity is her genetic heritage, and her identity is who she is as an individual, separate from her ethnicity, culture, and other Indian people. Melissa is proud of both her ethnicities and has never wanted to, nor felt she had to, favor one of her ethnic identities over the other. She feels she now maintains two equally balanced ethnic identities and this is unproblematic for her. She displays pride in both her ethnicities by displaying images of them on clothing and other accessories she wears.

It is difficult for people to identify Melissa's ethnicity from her phenotype and people often even misidentify her as White. Because of this, she can move one of her identities into prominence, depending upon the situation. She has unconsciously developed criteria that she uses to determine in what situations and with whom to identify as either Native American or Latina. Due to the fluidity of her ethnic identities, she has

developed strongly internalized Native and Latina identities that do not depend upon external confirmation.

Melissa feels she is Native American no matter where she lives and she identifies more as an Indian person, generally, than as a person from her specific tribe. Her sense of being Indian is not connected to her tribe or their land base. When referring to her ethnicity, she uses the collective “Native American” rather than her tribe’s name. However, she describes her Indian identity as very individual and personal rather than tied to her connection to other Indian people.

Melissa’s Indian identity came about through her identification with her mother and grandmother and the values they stressed. She describes them as “very strong women,” and identifies with their independent spirits and strong work ethics. As a teenager, however, Melissa began focusing identity-related activities on developing her unique personal identity; and both her Native and her Latina identities began to fade in importance as her individual identity took prominence. She describes now having a general moral compass that structures her identity from the inside; and she employs a cognitive strategy to maintain that identity, which positions general, not tribal nor cultural, moral standards and an orientation toward accomplishment as the main constituents of her personal identity.

In her late teen years, Melissa participated in the Job Corps and this brought her into contact for the first time with reservation-based Indian peers from tribes other than her own. As a result of these contacts, she began to see herself as being fundamentally different from Indians who live on their reservations. She saw them as prejudiced against Whites and other non-Indians, whereas she was not and was able to get along well with

everyone. More importantly, she wanted to better herself and get more out of life; and in her view, most of them did not. To her, they seemed content to remain on the reservation and lacked the drive to make a better life for themselves, as her grandparents did by leaving their reservation, a move that also protected her from becoming a drunk or dying at a young age. From that point forward, she has emotionally distanced herself from reservation-based Indians by firmly holding onto the belief that she is not like them: She is more self-sufficient, hardworking, and better able to take advantage of opportunities to advance herself because she grew up in an urban area.

Melissa has always identified being Indian with being poor, and her Job Corps experience reinforced that perspective. To counter this, Melissa developed her personal Indian identity around being a hardworking, independent, and accomplishment-oriented person who believes in herself. She strongly believes that her grandparents' leaving the family's reservation gave her the chance to be a better person than she would have been had she grown up on the reservation.

Shaun—Generation 3

Shaun has developed multiple Indian identities, which he maintains through his involvement in various aspects of both tribal-specific and collective Indian cultures. His most fundamental Indian identity is grounded in his membership in his tribe, which he is proud to acknowledge is a sovereign nation because of his understanding of the meaning of that status. When asked by others what his ethnicity is, he responds by telling them that he is a member of a tribal nation, not simply a tribe. He is continually learning about the ceremonies, traditions, and cultural practices of his tribe and affirms his Indian identity to others by demonstrating his knowledge of his specific tribal culture. Shaun

specifically rejects a collective Indian identity. He demonstrates this by reminding those who ask him questions about Indians that there are many different groups and his answer reflects only his experience or perspective.

Shaun maintains an urban-specific Indian identity that is related to being part of an Indian family that has lived for three generations in an urban area. He also identifies as an Indian person who has chosen to live an alcohol, drug, and tobacco-free lifestyle and to stay away from gang involvement. He sees that these characteristics differentiate him from many of his peers on the reservation. Finally, he expresses his unique and personal Indian identity through his participation in powwows as both a dancer and singer. He also listens almost exclusively to American Indian music as a way to show others that he identifies as Indian.

Shaun finds that he is often mistaken as being Mexican, the ethnic group most prominent in the area where he lives; and when he tells other people that he is Indian, it often surprises them. This has led him to believe that American Indians, like himself, who live in urban areas, must maintain their cultural identities in an environment where that identity is constantly being challenged by the presence of, and struggles with, many other ethnic groups.

Vickie—Generation 4

Vickie is biracial, but she identifies more with her American Indian ethnicity, of which she is very proud. She expresses her pride in being American Indian both externally, by attending social gatherings and Indian community events, and internally, by repeating the message that being Indian is a good thing. Vickie has multiple Indian identities. She identifies as a member of her tribe, with other Indians in a collective way,

and as an urban Indian. It is important to Vickie to distinguish herself as belonging to her band of the larger tribal group of which it is a part, and she has begun to identify herself to others by that band name rather than as Lakota. She considers a person's Indian identity to arise out of, and be tied to, the people on one's reservation. At the same time, Vickie feels she also belongs to a larger group of urban Indian people, where what tribe a person is from does not matter.

Vickie expresses her Indian identity primarily by doing things that are focused on Native culture. She has synthesized her experiences from many kinds of activities related to being Indian, rather than the effect of any one particular activity, and it is this synthesis that strengthens her Indian identity. For Vickie, a crucial aspect of being Indian is learning about her culture and taking part in cultural activities, something she judges to be easier to do on the reservation, although when making this observation, she has little actual experience in that setting from which to draw. Vickie thinks it is easier and more natural to live as an Indian person on a reservation, and there is something important to one's Indian identity that is tied to that context. So, she believes, when a person lives in an urban area, she or he has to deliberately set out in search of her Indian identity and work to develop it, whereas if this person were living on the reservation and solely with people from her or his own tribe, it would be much easier to find that identity.

Vickie recently made her first trip to her family's reservation. While there, she felt comfortable and as if she fit in, and came to see that she was not too much different from others her age that lived there. At the same time, however, she realized that she also holds a different perspective on life than that of her reservation-based peers because of the different influences present in the urban context in which she is growing up.

Fitting in with other Indian young people is an important part, for Vickie, of being proud to be Indian. She attends a Native-focused public school and finds that it has been easier for her to be Indian there, because she has a peer group of other Indian students in contrast to when she attended other schools where she was the only Indian student.

Although her ethnicity is something she is proud of, there is a part of it that is private to her and that she does not want to have to explain. When she was the only Indian student in her school, she would sometimes identify by her other ethnicity, because she did not want to have to explain about being Indian. In those settings, she also found it difficult to identify as Indian because doing so made her stand out and feel different.

Vickie has some friends who do not want to identify as Indian, because at school, they do not have other Indians to form a group with, and they do not want to not fit in somewhere. Others of her friends are reluctant to identify as Indian, for fear of being treated badly because they are Indian. It is important enough to Vickie to identify as Indian that she is willing to take the risk of being treated badly simply because she is Indian. She states that resistance is an aspect of her Indian identity. For example, she resists acts of discrimination by trying to confront and educate non-Indians about Indian experiences.

In addition to her Indian identity, Vickie also has a dominant culture identity. These two identities are not two separate pieces of her, but rather “work together to create her.” When interacting in the world, she does not think around whether things she does fit or do not fit with her conception of being Indian, but simply whether they fit for the self she has created, which integrates both Indian and non-Indian sides. Because she has integrated both Indian and non-Indian aspects into her personal identity, she sees herself

as not that different from her non-Indian friends. This also allows her to see them as not distinguishing any difference between her and them, which in turn increases her sense of fitting in. However, even when doing things in the dominant culture and with non-Indian friends, she maintains a sense that she is Indian. Her involvement in both the Indian and non-Indian worlds has given her the ability, at her young age, to distinguish that there are differences related to culture that bring people to think about and see certain issues in very different ways.

Chapter Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has identified and discussed the cultural identity styles and structures that together interact to describe each study participant's engagement with the phenomenon of developing and maintaining an American Indian cultural identity while living in an urban area. A narrative synthesis of these structures and styles, which depicted in a generalized way the collective experience of participants with this phenomenon, was also presented. Selected cultural identity structures and styles that have not been extensively discussed in the literature on American Indian cultural identity (and especially the body of literature that covers Indians living in urban areas) were elaborated upon with the intention of shedding light on their details. To conclude, the chapter offered the individual narratives of six participants' experiences related to their cultural identity to illustrate the unique ways that participants expressed the beliefs and behaviors contained within the structures and styles. In the next chapter, the findings related to the phenomenon, cultural connectedness, are presented in a format that is similar to that of this chapter.

CHAPTER 5. FINDINGS: STRUCTURES AND STYLES OF CULTURAL CONNECTEDNESS

Introduction

This chapter continues the presentation of study findings begun in the prior chapter by now focusing on the second phenomenon of interest, cultural connectedness. The chapter is structured similarly to the previous chapter by first identifying the structures and styles, and their presences, of the phenomenon. It then offers a descriptive narrative synthesis of the structures and styles, followed by elaborations of selected structures and styles and their presences. As in chapter 4, this chapter again concludes with six examples of individual descriptive syntheses of participants' experiences related to cultural connectedness.

Structures, Styles, and Presences of Cultural Connectedness

Across Participants

Cultural Connectedness Structures

As was done in order to reveal the cultural identity structures discussed in the previous chapter, the general descriptive statements for the cultural connectedness structures for all 18 individual participants were grouped together, loaded into Atlas.ti, and coded. Nine cultural connectedness structures emerged from this process and are listed in Table 7 in order of their prevalence, beginning with the structure that had the highest number of generalized descriptive statements associated with it. The next section

provides descriptions of the cultural connectedness structures and their presences; an extended discussion and elaboration of selected structures can be found beginning on p. 206.

Table 7

Structures of Cultural Connectedness Across Participants

Structures of cultural connectedness	
1.	Connections with other American Indians
2.	Reservation/tribal community
3.	Cultural traditions and values
4.	Family
5.	Loss/retention of culture
6.	Urban context
7.	Knowledge of culture
8.	Powwow
9.	Urban Indian young people

The Presences Within the Cultural Connectedness Structures

Each cultural connectedness structure was further analyzed in order to cluster its descriptive statements at a greater level of specificity. This process resulted in the emergence of subthemes for 6 of the 9 structures. Subthemes should be thought of as the presences of each cultural connectedness structure; for the three structures without subthemes, the structure itself should be considered as the presence. Table 8 provides a list of the presences for each cultural connectedness structure that emerged from the participants' experiences. Again, these are listed in order of their prevalence within each structure.

Table 8

Presences Within the Cultural Connectedness Structures

Presences within the cultural connectedness structures	
1.	Connections with other American Indians

- a. Places where urban Indians connect with one another
- b. Difficulty of connecting with other American Indians
- c. Importance of connections with other American Indians
- 2. Reservation/tribal community**
 - a. Connection to reservation
 - b. Lack of connection to reservation
 - c. Perceptions/beliefs about reservation
- 3. Cultural traditions and values**
 - a. Role of traditional practices in cultural connectedness
 - b. Incorporation of cultural values and worldview
 - c. Challenges to involvement in traditional practices
- 4. Family**
- 5. Loss or retention of culture**
 - a. Factors involved in cultural loss
 - b. Challenges connecting to culture in the urban setting
 - c. Retention of culture in the urban setting
- 6. Urban context**
- 7. Knowledge of culture**
 - a. Cultural knowledge is fundamental to cultural connectedness
 - b. Challenges to learning about one's tribal culture
- 8. Powwow**
- 9. Urban Indian young people**
 - a. Support for cultural connectedness in urban Indian young people
 - b. Developmental aspects of cultural connectedness

Descriptions of the Cultural Connectedness

Structures and Presences

Connections with other American Indians includes identification of the important role that social relationships with other Indians in the urban environment play in creating a sense of cultural connectedness. This structure distinguishes the places and situations where urban Indians are able to find these connections with one another and describes the difficulties participants have encountered in finding other urban Indians with whom to develop these important social relationships.

Reservation/tribal community refers to the role that an urban Indian person's tribal land base plays in supporting important cultural connections, not only to extended family members and other relatives who continue to live there, but also to the individual's tribal culture and cultural representations, such as language and traditions. Also included in this structure is the lack of connections, on the part of some participants, to their families' reservations or tribal communities and the ways these individuals conceptualize this disconnection. Finally, this structure identifies perceptions and beliefs that participants held about the reservation and its relationship to their connections to American Indian culture.

Cultural traditions and values distinguishes that Indian values and an understanding of the Indian worldview provide an individual with a foundation of cultural connectedness. The important role that practicing tribal traditions—familial, social, and spiritual—play in creating cultural connectedness is further explicated. This structure reveals how incorporating cultural values became a means for some participants

to internalize cultural connectedness as well as the challenges that the urban setting presented to some participants when they have attempted to connect to tribal traditions.

Family acknowledges that an urban Indian person's strongest sense of connection to Indian culture may be through family members, both on the reservation and in urban areas. Likewise, this structure identifies the difficulty that an urban Indian person may have in reconnecting to Indian culture, if family members have not been involved in and/or are not knowledgeable about their own tribal culture. Also included here are characteristics of urban Indian families that support and promote cultural connectedness, such as family cohesiveness, continued observation of kinship traditions and norms, and styles of interaction within families.

Loss or retention of culture identifies reasons participants felt American Indian culture is being lost (e.g., past assimilationist policies or larger societal changes) and ideas about why some individuals are moving away from the culture. It includes participants' explanations of why they believe or have experienced it being more difficult to "live Indian" and be involved with cultural ways and traditional spirituality in the urban setting. This structure also points out the importance of maintaining cultural traditions and cultural uniqueness and describes participants' thinking about how culture can be retained in the urban setting.

Urban context refers to whether participants' perceptions of cultural connectedness are context dependent: Is this connectedness stable or does it change depending upon an individual's location in either an urban or a reservation/tribal community context? Also considered are the types of cultural activities and traditional practices that participants saw were possible in urban areas and the influence of the wide

tribal diversity often seen in urban areas on the ways that urban Indians connect to Indian culture.

Knowledge of culture recognizes that some level of both tribal-specific and generalized cultural knowledge is fundamental for urban Indians to be culturally connected. Participants acknowledge in this structure that some urban Indian people have grown up in situations where they have not learned about their tribes or Indian culture, in general, and that it may be challenging for some urban Indian people to acquire the knowledge seen to be necessary for creating a connection to Indian culture. Participants also suggested that the urban environment can provide an opportunity for American Indians to learn about numerous tribal cultures and gain generalized cultural understanding in the absence of tribal-specific knowledge.

Powwow calls attention to the role participants felt powwows play in providing connection to Indian culture and other Indian people in the urban environment. This structure also identifies some participants' belief that powwows may be the only remaining form of cultural connection for some urban Indians and how powwow may be considered a specific urban Indian subculture.

Urban Indian young people points out unique considerations related to the development of cultural connectedness in urban Indian children and teenagers and distinguishes venues participants felt promoted cultural connectedness, such as Indian Education Programs, intertribal youth programs, powwows, and urban Indian Centers.

Cultural Connectedness Styles

Seven cultural connectedness styles emerged from the thematization of the general descriptive statements related to cultural connectedness. These are listed in Table

9 in order of their prevalence, beginning with the style that had the highest number of generalized descriptive statements associated with it. Descriptions of the styles and their presences are provided in the section immediately following. The extended discussion and elaboration of selected cultural connectedness styles and their presences begins on p. 206.

Table 9

Styles of Cultural Connectedness Across Participants

Styles of cultural connectedness
1. Relating and interacting with other American Indians
2. Practicing cultural traditions and demonstrating cultural values
3. Being involved with Indian culture
4. Being part of an Indian family
5. Going back to the reservation
6. Learning about tribal culture, history, and current events
7. Negotiating the urban environment

The Presences Within the Cultural Connectedness Styles

Presences were identified for 5 of the 7 styles of cultural connectedness. The list below (see Table 10) indicates the presences for each cultural connectedness style and are listed in order of their prevalence within each style.

Table 10

Presences Within the Cultural Connectedness Styles

Cultural connectedness styles and presences	
1. Relating and interacting with other American Indians	
2. Practicing cultural traditions and demonstrating cultural values	
a. Practicing tribal traditions and spirituality/ceremonies	
b. Demonstrating Indian values	
3. Being involved with Indian culture	
a. Cultural activities, events, and powwows	
b. Indian community involvement	
4. Being part of an Indian family	
a. Connections to culture come through family	
b. Practicing traditions related to family relationships	
c. Maintaining ties with family members	
5. Going back to the reservation	
6. Learning about tribal culture, history, and current events	
a. Learning about tribal culture and about family's and tribe's experiences	
b. Knowing about tribal and general Indian history and current events	
7. Negotiating the urban environment	
a. Maintaining cultural connections	
b. Creating Indian space in the city	

Descriptions of the Cultural Connectedness Styles and Presences

Relating and interacting with other American Indians expresses participants'

beliefs that being around other Indian people in the urban setting can connect a person to his or her culture or that an individual's connection to Indian culture comes through other Indian people. Described within this style are the means that participants used to connect with other Indian people in the urban setting, such as participating in community activities, socializing at powwows and cultural events, working or volunteering in Indian programs, and in other ways being of service to Indian people. Also included in this style is the importance of maintaining relationships with family and others in one's tribal

community and how participants felt urban Indians demonstrate their cultural connectedness when interacting with other Indians.

Practicing cultural traditions and demonstrating cultural values explains that learning about traditions, values, and spirituality is a means for developing and strengthening connection to Indian culture. In this style, participants pointed out that practicing tribal traditions and spiritual ceremonies, either in the city or on the reservation, created a feeling of connection to Indian culture, and that living by cultural values and demonstrating these in interactions with others was an expression of cultural connectedness.

Being involved with Indian culture speaks to the ways that attending or participating in culture-focused events and activities can produce a sense of connection to not only one's own tribal culture but that of other Indian people as well. In addition, it addresses participants' awareness that involvement in the social, political, and/or service efforts taking place in an urban Indian community can increase cultural connectedness. This style also describes how attending powwows and/or powwow dancing, whether in the city or on one's reservation/tribal community, has become a way through which urban Indians can maintain connections to Indian culture and other Indian people.

Being part of an Indian family points out that family is a primary vehicle for learning about Indian culture, traditions and history, and for modeling involvement with culture. Thus, according to the participants, family plays an important role in helping individuals develop connections to their cultures. Participants continued to practice tribal traditions related to family relationships and responsibilities while in the urban setting

produces ongoing cultural connectedness, as does maintaining ties with extended family members still living on the reservation or in a tribal community.

Going back to the reservation acknowledges that returning to one's reservation, either to visit or to live for a short period, can increase an urban Indian person's feeling of being culturally connected, and that spending time on the reservation may be a way that a person demonstrates connection to his or her tribal culture. This style further explains that learning more about how one's tribal culture is expressed by those living on the reservation or in a tribal community, and being able to maintain connections to this location were important aspects of cultural connectedness for participants.

Learning about tribal culture, history, and current events imparts participants' understanding that when living in a tribally diverse urban area, in order to have cultural connectedness, an individual must also find ways to learn about his or her specific tribal traditions and practices, and his or her family's experiences as tribal people. In addition, participants indicated that cultural connectedness was strengthened by knowing general Indian history and current happenings in Indian country, in addition to tribal-specific history and the contemporary experiences of one's tribe.

Negotiating the urban environment speaks to ways that participants used to maintain balance and connection to culture while living and interacting in a culturally-diverse urban environment. This style distinguishes the cognitive, emotional, and spiritual methods that participants used to transform the urban setting into a space in which they could enact their connectedness to Indian culture.

Descriptive Synthesis of Cultural Connectedness

Structures and Styles

At its foundation, cultural connectedness stems from the familial, tribal, and social relationships urban American Indian people have with one another. Without these relationships, cultural connectedness would not exist. Through or as a result of these relationships, cultural connectedness is then expressed in a number of important cognitive, emotional, behavioral, and spiritual ways. Underlying participants' experiences of cultural connectedness is an awareness of the role played by other Indian people and also an awareness that having difficulty connecting with other Indian people can present a serious challenge to cultural connectedness.

Family, both those who live in the city and those who remain on the reservation/tribal community, provide most urban Indians with their strongest connections to Indian culture. Family cohesiveness, family support, and the sharing of cultural knowledge and experiences by family members assist urban Indians to develop and strengthen cultural connectedness.

Returning to the reservation and/or maintaining ties with family members there also imparts a feeling of cultural connectedness. Family members and others living on the reservation/tribal community provide a link to expressions of culture, such as language, values, traditions, and spirituality. Knowledge of these cultural expressions provides an important part of an individual's cultural connectedness, and involvement in them demonstrates this connectedness.

Learning about tribal culture, history, and current events requires additional interaction with family and other Indian people. Showing interest in one's tribe and

acquiring knowledge of tribal history and current issues allow an urban Indian person to feel more culturally connected. Involvement with Indian culture through participation both in Indian-focused events and activities, such as powwows, and also as a member of an urban Indian community brings urban Indians together and strengthens individuals' cultural connectedness.

Participants experienced that there is a threat to the retention of Indian culture posed by life in an urban setting, in part because of the increased difficulty of making and sustaining connections with other Indian people. This threat was confronted by participants by developing and maintaining strong relationships with other urban Indian people. Thus, through these relationships, cultural connectedness remains an option for urban Indians although its behavioral displays may be somewhat distinct from those of individuals living on the reservation or in a tribal community because of contextual differences.

Elaboration and Discussion of Selected Cultural Connectedness

Structures and Styles and Their Presences

Because the structure and style were closely related in five of the aspects of cultural connectedness, the elaborations of the first four selected structures/styles and their presences presented below are syntheses of the structural and stylistic elements of each. These syntheses cover (a) connections with other American Indians (structure) and relationships and interactions with other American Indians (style); (b) reservation/tribal community (structure) and going back to the reservation (style); (c) family relationships (structure) and being part of an Indian family (style); and (d) knowledge of culture (structure) and learning about tribal culture, history, and current events (style).

Elaboration of the structure, loss or retention of culture, and the style, being involved with Indian culture, complete this section.

*Connections With Other American Indians (Structure), and
Relating and Interacting With Other American Indians (Style)*

This structure and style reveal how vitally important participants consider their relationships and interactions—what many refer to as their “connections”—with other American Indians are to being cultural connected. Three presences were identified as part of this cultural connectedness structure, whereas the style, relating and interacting with other American Indians, represented the presence of this style as well. The three presences that are discussed below include (a) the importance of connections with other American Indians, (b) the difficult of connecting with other American Indians, and (c) places where urban Indians connect with one another.

Importance of Connections With Other American Indians

Associating with other Indians through cultural events and organized activities in an Indian community, spending time with Indian friends and family members, interacting with elders, and knowing Indians from different tribes were all ways that participants related with other Indians and gained a sense of cultural connectedness. This relatedness allowed participants to identify the things they had in common with other Indian people (in the urban environment as well as on the reservation/tribal community) and to find acceptance and recognition. Together these factors strengthened connection to Indian culture. The importance of connections with other American Indians is conveyed by a Generation 2 participant as follows:

I guess I’m probably the roughest one when it comes to hangin’ in there with my Native people. I mean, that’s who I’m always with; no one else,

although I have many other friends. I have no problems with being friends with them, but when it comes down to who I choose to be with, it's my Native people. . . . It seems to me I was able to associate my whole life with Native people; everything that happened around me centered around being Native in my eyes; but maybe it was the most important thing to me, and I didn't even realize it until I started getting older. Then it became even more important to me.

Seeking out involvement with other Indian people—in social, school, and work settings—gave participants a feeling of connection to their culture. Similarities and differences in tribal affiliation appeared to take a backseat to contacts with others who shared general similarities in values, behaviors, worldview, and lifestyles—elements that many participants agreed form the foundation of social relationships in both urban and reservation communities. In the words of a Generation 3 participant,

I have friends that are all different tribes, but to me, we're all just Indian people. I have a pretty strong connection between a lot of Indian people in Denver, you know, and not so much in my own tribe, because the only ones that I really know are my two uncles.

An urban Indian person may find it easier to connect with other Indian people than with non-Indians and be more comfortable socializing with other Indians, because he or she recognizes the other Indian person as having a value system, way of being, and experiences similar to his or her own. Participants felt that they could demonstrate to others their connection to Indian culture and other Indian people through expressing Indian values in the ways they interacted with others. As one participant expressed, “There are certain things about being Native that I want to hang on to, as far as that. Like being generous or taking somebody in if they need help, you know. I do that a lot.”

Among the values that Generation 1 participants demonstrated were helping other Indian people and being of service to one's community. In more recent generations, this value appears to have persisted, so that working or volunteering in settings where an individual can assist other Indians or be involved in the Indian community has become

another way of demonstrating cultural connectedness. Participants pinpointed that participation in traditional Indian spirituality, although agreeably more difficult in the city, was an additional avenue that could provide urban Indian people with the opportunity to interact with other Indians and express the values that build and reinforce cultural connectedness.

Difficulty of Connecting With Other American Indians

Some participants were fairly isolated from other Indians as they were growing up in the urban setting; and for some, this continued even into adulthood. One participant shared, “Growing up I didn’t know many Indians.” Another participant (Generation 3) echoed this sentiment and explained that where she grew up also separated her from other Indians:

[Interviewer:] Were you living around other Indian people in Denver?

[Participant:] No . . .

[Interviewer:] Not in your lifetime?

[Participant:] No. Because like where my mom lives now . . . [and] I remember a little bit before that house where we lived off of Colfax and Julian . . . but both neighborhoods were both more Hispanic than American Indian. That was the neighborhoods we lived in, it seemed like.

Other participants’ primary contacts were with extended family members, and

they may have developed few social relationships with Indians outside their own families. A participant from Generation 1 remarked, “Because I’ve always lived in the White community after I left the reservation, I never saw anybody who looked like me anymore.”

Some participants felt that living in an urban area gave them few opportunities to interact with other Indians in the city, and even fewer opportunities to interact with Indians living on reservations or in tribal communities. For example, a young person may have a strong desire to be connected to his or her tribal culture, but have difficulty finding

others in the urban setting who can facilitate that connection, as one Generation 4 teenage participant confirmed, after she had explained the feelings of some of her peers:

[Interviewer:] So let me see if I'm getting this picture. So some of those kids that aren't very connected, inside [themselves] they really badly want to be connected. But they either don't have anybody that will help them do that or any support for doing it?

[Participant:] Yeah.

Participants agreed that it was difficult to develop or maintain a feeling of cultural connectedness when an individual was not around other Indians. They also believed that in extreme but not unlikely cases, urban Indians may not even try to seek out other Indians who live in the urban setting because of the perceived difficulty in doing so. Their own, as well as the experiences of others they had heard of, have lead participants to believe that it is harder to connect with other Indian people and one's culture when an individual lives in an urban area. As one participant (Generation 4) shared, "If you're trying to connect and be able to find other Indians around then you really have to try."

Such experiences can also lead an individual to feel that he or she was "raised White" because of the lack of exposure to Indian people and Indian culture. One Generation 2 participant spoke of her experience as follows:

[Participant:] I was pretty much raised White, so to speak. My dad was White . . . I was pretty much raised [White]—because we were in the military and we lived in suburbia—[I] wasn't exposed to a lot of stuff, not really.

[Interviewer:] So you weren't around other Indians?

[Participant:] No, there was one other Indian family, or two other Indian families, that I went to school with . . . but other than that . . .

Participants believed or had experienced that difficulties connecting with other Indian people can also leave individuals doubting that they are truly a part of an Indian community, even though they participate in cultural activities. Broader societal changes and the pressures and responsibilities of urban living were seen to be changing urban

Indian communities from small and close-knit social groups to systems of widely scattered and diffusely connected social relationships. This change was often reflected in the changes in powwows that participants frequently remarked upon. In the words of one Generation 2 participant,

Powwows at the Indian Center, they were so much fun . . . We camped out, the committee brought around rations for everybody; it was a get together, it was a celebration. It was a celebration and bringing people back to the community. And I always remember that in the early morning somebody would come by and give out eggs and bacon and coffee and for the people in the camp, and that goes back to, you know, way back. And so they were continuing that. Today you don't see that.

Places Where Urban Indians Connect with One Another

Urban Indian Centers play a role in helping urban Indian people make connections with one another. They function as locations where people can feel comfortable and experience a sense of belonging with others who are like themselves, and they provide a venue for involvement in powwows and other cultural activities. Two participants (from Generation 2 and 1, respectively) revealed the importance to them of the local Indian Center in the following quotes:

I think I just loved—I loved going to the Indian Center. I loved going to powwows. I mean, I just loved it. I looked forward to that every year, doing that stuff. And when we used to go to the Indian Center and we would go to church there and when my mom and grandma worked down there, I just loved being a part of that, just everything. I loved church when we would go to church—that was probably one time when I liked going to church, when we went to church at the Indian Center.

So when I got involved in the Indian Center, I was going to school, and I was working there part-time, and it was so neat, because I got to meet all these other people from different reservations, and they were all full-blooded, you know. And it was just—I loved it.

Powwows represent another setting, which participants identified, where urban Indian people can make social connections with one another around an aspect of collective or intertribal Indian culture. In the words of a Generation 3 participant,

You go to powwows and you see all kind of different sorts of people, and then there's like the people that win all the time, and then there's like the people that go there just to have fun and have a good time.

Indian churches and community-based intertribal cultural programs are other locations that participants pointed out may facilitate and support cultural connectedness by providing urban Indian people with places where they can meet and support one another. A Generation 1 participant spoke of her experience as follows:

I had foster children . . . We got involved in the church, the Kateri Church. . . It was all different tribes, every one that you could probably think of, I think. And the kids were involved in the catechism program, and I got involved in it. It's how I became a catechist. And I also cooked, and I was also the treasurer, I took care of the money. And a lot of people needed help. You know, like baby milk or diapers and that kind of stuff. So we did that, and I was really involved at that time with the families in the church and got to know them real well, a lot of them. And I was very happy that way.

School may be one of the few places where some urban Indian young people have contact with other Indians. Participants identified Indian Education Programs in public schools as places that can link young Indian people with Indian peers and help them to develop social relationships not only with these peers, but with adult members of urban Indian communities as well. In addition, these programs were also identified as providing young people with opportunities for cultural involvement and community service, which, in turn, can build and strengthen cultural connectedness.

Reservation/Tribal Community (Structure) and

Going Back to the Reservation (Style)

The reservation or tribal community still exerts influences on study participants in various ways. Many participants, for example, spoke of either strongly positive or strongly negative feelings about the place from which their family members had originally come. Others had had either difficult or off-putting experiences, or in contrast, exciting and inspiring experiences there. In this structure and style, participants spoke to their connections, or lack of connections, to their family's reservation/tribal community and their desire, or lack of desire, to go back to this place. Three presences were identified as part of the cultural connectedness structure, reservation/tribal community: (a) connection to the reservation/tribal community, (b) lack of connection to the reservation/tribal community, and (c) perceptions/beliefs about the reservation. Going back to the reservation was itself the presence of the corresponding style. This section begins with an elaboration of the first presence listed above, connection to the reservation/tribal community.

Connection to the Reservation/Tribal Community

For many years after settling in Denver, it was quite common for some members of Generation 1 to travel back and forth from the city to their reservation or tribal community—sometimes as often as every week—accompanied by their young children. This was not only a way of maintaining connection to family but was an important strategy for passing on culture to their children. Despite long-time urban residence, for many participants the reservation/tribal community continues to play a role, both actual and symbolic, in their cultural connectedness. An important aspect of this role may be

that of standing for “home,” a place where family were once strongly and visibly connected to a specific tribal culture; the reservation may even play this role for individuals who have never visited there nor maintained connections with people who continue to live there.

Returning to one’s reservation—to visit family members, to live for short periods, to participate in ceremonies and tribal traditions, or to attend funerals and memorials—teaches about culture and tribal ways, provides experiences with other Indian people, and deepens an individual’s sense of cultural connectedness. Maintaining links to relatives and others on one’s reservation or in one’s tribal community is a primary way that many participants demonstrated their cultural connectedness.

An urban Indian person may feel most connected to Indian culture through his or her relatives and other significant people who continue to live on the reservation. As one Generation 2 participant declared, “What I eventually came to is that the people I’m most connected to are my relatives back home.” Another participant (Generation 3) shared her experience of returning “home”:

It was weird because we went home, back a couple of years ago, after not being back after quite awhile, and me and daughter were both like, “We’re home.” We never lived there, but we felt like we were home. It felt so good to be around our people and you know, we’d see our relatives we don’t know very well, but they’re our relatives, and you’ve got these feelings towards them. It felt so good to be just in that circle.

The reservation or tribal community serves as a place that not only connects an individual to family members, but also serves as a bridge to cultural experiences and cultural representations, such as language, values, and traditions. “The reservation” and an individual’s “tribal culture” may be seen as synonymous. Speaking about her reservation, one Generation 2 participant shared,

But then you have the best, because you have the ceremonies, and there's nothing but Lakota people in there, and there's talking, nothing but the language, and nothing else but love, totally immersed in Lakota. You don't get that here. You'll never get that here. Well, you might if you bring some Lakotas from over there, you might. But even if you have a ceremony here, there's just different tribes and different people, and you know, it's just different.

Another participant (Generation 2) saw his reservation as the place where culture resided and was kept alive:

But in terms of culture, you know, there's more traditional people there; so if you can overcome all the other problems of substance abuse and unemployment and all those things, at least you have contact with traditional people that you can learn the language and keep their traditions alive and things like that.

In fact, some participants disclosed that they only participated in cultural activities when they were on their reservation, and their strongest connections to culture occurred when they were physically present on their reservation. A Generation 3 participant gave this explanation:

Well, when I'm there, I feel really connected to them because like we mostly go there for powwows or ceremonies or Sundance. So we're all together for a long period of time, but when we're here like we don't really speak to each other that much.

Lack of Connection to the Reservation/Tribal Community

An urban Indian person may feel little connection to his or her reservation or tribal community and may have actually been there only once—or at most, a few times. As one participant put it, “I’m okay here and visiting there.” Like some participants, other urban Indians may feel little desire or need to return to their families’ reservations/tribal communities, neither to live nor to visit. Still others may be similar to some participants in wanting to go to their reservation to see what it is like or to meet family members living there, while at the same time feeling no strong emotional draw to the place.

One Generation 3 participant, who expressed no desire to go to her family's reservation, felt this way because she saw the reservation as an empty and stagnant place where people have little ambition nor opportunity:

It's just depressing to go down there. I don't like going down there; I feel really sad and depressed. I don't like it . . . And I don't have any reason to go back there any more. Why do that to myself? Yeah . . . I don't want to do that. There's no reason to go there anymore. So I really don't think I'll ever go back. Other than for a funeral, but I have no desire to go back there at all.

Some participants, unlike those discussed in the previous section, may not consider the reservation to be their "home," but instead, only the place where their family comes from. One Generation 3 participant illustrated this through her belief that it was a good thing that her family left the reservation and settled in an urban area.

[Participant:] I think if we had stayed on the reservation, I don't think my mom, [and] in turn, then us kids, wouldn't be who we are if we stayed on the reservation. I don't think she could have been as strong as she was, which would have affected all of us in the end. . . . I think it's a good thing that my grandpa wanted to leave, to come here for work.

[Interviewer:] Have you done anything in your life to be more connected to your reservation? Has that been important to you?

[Participant:] Not that I can think of. No . . . I don't think of that as my home. I mean, I love it there, and it's very beautiful there, but I think of it more as where my mom and my grandma and my family is from; but I think because I was born and raised here, I think of this more as my home. An urban Indian individual may feel very connected to his or her tribal culture

despite living in the city, and he or she may not see the reservation as a place they need to be to maintain a sense of cultural connectedness. A Generation 3 participant expressed this by saying,

Everything [cultural] I ever wanted to know I could learn [here] or have heard, you know. There's no reason for me to want to go back or need to go back. And with my mom and my grandma [here], what do I need?

Perceptions and Beliefs About the Reservation/Tribal Community

It may be perceived by some urban Indian people that the reservation or tribal community is the heart of Indian culture and that cultural activities are happening constantly on the reservation. Traditional practices, and especially traditional spirituality and ceremonies, are likely to be seen as grounded in or inherently connected to the tribal location; and thus some urban Indians may feel that these aspects of Indian culture are not readily available to them in the urban setting. This continual stream of opportunities on the reservation to participate in cultural activities is contrasted to the city, where it may be believed that cultural activities occur only as sporadic and isolated events. One young adult participant (Generation 3) described how he sees cultural activities happening on his reservation:

I know I kind of like living over there [on the reservation], because I like riding horses and they have rides almost every other week in the summer or every weekend in the summer. They have a ride, and then after the ride, that's when the powwow starts; and during the powwow that's when the hand games, and after the hand games, you go home or sometimes will have a sweat.

In contrast, other participants held that despite what some reservation-based Indian people may believe, leaving the reservation does not signal an automatic loss of culture or an end to participating in activities and traditions connected to Indian culture.

Family (Structure) and Being Part of an Indian Family (Style)

Together, family, representing the structure, and, being part of an Indian family, the style, impart participants' understanding that their family and tribal heritage play a critical role in their own sense of cultural connectedness. Three presences were contained in the style, being part of an Indian family, and include: (a) connections to culture come through family, (b) practicing traditions related to family relations, and (c) maintaining ties with family members. The structure, family, was itself the presence.

Connections to Culture Come Through Family

An urban Indian person's strongest feelings of being connected to Native culture, and especially to his or her tribal-specific culture, are likely to come through relationships with family members—parents, siblings, grandparents, and other extended family and kin. These feelings of cultural connectedness arise whether family members reside in the city or on the reservation or in a tribal community. Participants' experiences indicated that being able to point out that they knew who their relatives still living on the reservation were, increased their feelings of cultural connectedness and were especially important if, or when, they returned to their tribal communities to establish (or re-establish) relationships with family and others. Likewise, participants felt a connection to their culture through relatives that had passed away; talking about and honoring the struggles and hardships of ancestors was another means of demonstrating cultural connectedness.

Practicing Traditions Related to Family Relationships

Members of urban Indian families may maintain housing patterns similar to those found on reservations and in tribal communities. It was common for members of

participant families to live in close proximity to one another in the urban environment in much the same way families live together in tribal communities.

Traditional values may structure how an urban Indian person thinks about the relationships between members of his or her family and the ways family members should interact with each other. Honoring these family relationships may impart a sense of cultural connectedness in urban Indians, as it did in many participants. Urban Indian people may continue to practice tribal traditions related to family relationships and responsibilities to relatives while living in the city, and they may believe that their families exhibit the same closeness and cohesiveness that is considered to characterize traditional and reservation-based families, as this Generation 3 participant had identified in her own family:

I've gone over to other people's families for dinner or whatever, and, like if it was just a regular Caucasian family, the men might be sitting and watching TV. . . . They're just not connected, I guess. But when it's like a tribal or a clan family, you know, everybody's connected. There's laughing. There's jokes being played on everybody . . . and everybody's in the kitchen and someone's grabbing food or stealing a piece of chicken or whatever it is. Just this kind of mild chaos, but it's all family, you know? It's just incredible. . . . Or then when it's dinner time, everybody comes together, and there's stories, stories you've heard time after time after time, but they're always like you've heard them the first time, and they're so funny. And it's just [a] great cohesion of people coming together and sharing and being together. And I guess, to me, that's the best way I can explain it.

Participants, who felt they were less knowledgeable about Indian culture than they should have been or who were uncomfortable interacting with Indian people, often relied on relationships with family members or others they perceived as being more culturally connected to increase their own sense of cultural connectedness. Close intra-familial relationships and membership in a family with high family cohesiveness was seen by participants to be a foundational aspect of cultural connectedness. The presence of these

characteristics in a participant's family supported the participant's own cultural connectedness.

Honoring the Indian value of always helping family members continued to be important to participants. Grandparents were seen to continue to follow tribal traditions often by raising their grandchildren either in conjunction with parents or when parents were unable to do so. Family involvement in cultural activities and events, such as powwows, supported family cohesiveness and thus, also supported the cultural connectedness of participants.

Maintaining Ties With Family Members

As children, some participants had few connections with other Indians outside their families, and as has been discussed previously, may have had difficulty connecting with other Indian people in the urban environment. Maintaining a continuity of cultural connectedness down through generations was seen by participants as vital, because it was acknowledged that it was particularly difficult for young urban Indians to develop a strong sense of cultural connectedness if their families have not maintained involvement in and knowledge of their specific tribal cultures. The process of traditional adoption or "making relatives" was one way that younger participants used to learn about Indian culture, in general, as well as their specific tribal practices. These traditional kin relationships became important additional ways of strengthening cultural connectedness.

Within participant families, members demonstrated differing levels of connectedness to Native culture and/or interest in being culturally connected, as was the case with two different participants' siblings:

It's a matter of degree, you know? Like I'm surprised that my younger brother who lives in Oklahoma, he has gone to the powwows and stuff like

that, but it just doesn't seem like he really embraces the Native culture that much, even though he's living there. And he's the one that looks, you know, least Indian of all of us. But then my older brother . . . I don't really get the impression that he has very much interest in his ancestry at all.

Oh yeah, my mom was pure Indian, pure Native, ya know, and my dad, no, not so much. I don't know if you're gonna interview my brother, but you'll see the difference; you'll see my brother acts like my dad, and I'm more like my mom, and my sister is somewhere in between.

In some urban Indian families, members may have lost contact with other Indian

family members, especially those living on the family's reservation/tribal community.

Not growing up with other Indian family members, as was the case with one participant who was adopted by non-Indians, or having few remaining ties to family members, as with other participants, made it more likely that the individual had difficulty feeling culturally connected. Some participants who grew up with few cultural connections felt it was much more important for their children to be connected to the culture than it was for them to be, reflecting the belief that it may be quite difficult to develop or regain cultural connections as an adult.

Participants suggested that urban Indian young people who have had little prior connection to Indian culture may begin to reconnect by making attempts to learn about their families and tribes. Seeking out knowledge of family history and tribal traditions are ways of reconnecting with tribal culture, and possessing knowledge of family and tribal history demonstrates the enduring nature of cultural connectedness. Being able to learn about cultural ways from family members and observing family members' role-modeling involvement with Indian culture were considered by some participants to be important ways of supporting young people's cultural connectedness.

Knowledge of Culture (Structure) and Learning About

Tribal Culture, History, and Current Events (Style)

This structure and style addresses the importance that participants placed on learning about both their own specific tribal cultures and tribal histories, and about Native culture and the history of American Indians in a broad sense, for achieving a sense of cultural connectedness. The structure, knowledge of culture, had two presences: (a) cultural knowledge is fundamental to cultural connectedness, and (b) challenges to learning about one's tribal culture. The style, learning about tribal culture, history, and current events also had two presences: (a) learning about tribal culture and the experiences of one's family and tribe, and (b) knowing about tribal and general Indian history and current events.

It is important in understanding this structure and style to note that participants' expressed their experiences in this area in such a way that it could be seen that there was a continual interaction occurring between learning and knowing. As a participant would learn about his or her culture, and the experiences of his or her family and tribe, he or she would come to have a level of knowledge in these areas. However, this knowledge would often spur an understanding that the participant needed still more knowledge, and so a quest to learn more would ensure. In the elaboration of this structure and style that follows, two examples of elements of this process are presented rather than a separate presentation of the four related presences, as has been done with the elaborations of the styles and structures that have preceded this one.

Learning About Culture Creates Connectedness

Learning about Indian culture and then possessing the body of related knowledge appeared to be one of the most purposeful tasks that participants undertook related to their cultural connectedness. Attempts to learn about culture were not only aimed at acquiring knowledge of tribal-specific practices and traditions, such as language and traditional spirituality, but also frequently centered on finding out about the experiences of family members related to their being Indian and about the history and experiences of participants' tribes.

Although the urban setting afforded participants the opportunity to learn about numerous tribal cultures—which they often did—learning specifically about one's own tribe appeared to be of special import. When a participant did not know about, or had difficulty finding out about his or her tribal culture and family experiences, it was difficult for him or her to feel as culturally connected as might be possible otherwise. Family members and other Indian people represented the primary way through which participants acquired cultural knowledge, including knowledge of tribal practices, values, and traditions, although for some participants (and even some of those who had strong connections to tribal people), reading was an important supplemental way of learning about history and tribal experiences.

Cognitive rather than experiential knowledge of the traditions and/or ceremonies of an individual's tribe created in some participants a feeling of cultural connectedness that compensated for the individual's having never actually experienced these aspects of culture. Another way of increasing knowledge of one's tribal culture and traditional practices, and thus increasing cultural connectedness, was to return to the reservation or tribal community to interact with people who lived there in order to experience the ways

they expressed their culture. Being able to utilize the cultural knowledge one had gained could also strengthen a participant's sense of cultural connectedness, as this Generation 3 participant conveyed:

I went to school like a year or two over on my reservation, and I took some classes there, like culture, herbs, plants, traditional foods, and a really interesting class I took was Lakota song and dance, and there I studied a lot of songs and studied plants. We went out into the country and kind of just went around and picked out different stuff, and they showed us, and we had to make this portfolio of all the plants we picked and what they do, and how they helped American Indians a long time ago . . . like the same thing you use for scratches and colds, you'd use for just healing wounds and stuff. Then if you're walking on a long trip and then there's this tree, you pick and you pick off these little wax things and you just chew them, and it's just like gum; it quenches your thirst and stuff. It's crazy. It's really quite interesting. Stayed in a teepee for like a month and a half, something like that. . . . We sang songs, learned how to sing different styles, so it was pretty cool. . . . Yeah, it was pretty nice. Then we went hunting; we hunted a buffalo, and we chopped it up all traditionally.

Importance of Knowing Family and Tribal History

Participants increased their feelings of cultural connectedness by knowing about Native history, in general, and about both the past and contemporary experiences of Native people. Knowing that one was part of a group of people who have a unique history brought about a feeling of belongingness that provided an important foundation for the cultural connectedness of many participants.

Knowing about one's family heritage and the experiences of one's tribe, and being able to share that with others, not only created a sense of cultural connectedness, but was a way that a number of participants employed to resist the pull of assimilation into the dominant culture. Seeking out knowledge of family history, as well as showing interest in one's tribe, its history, and the current issues affecting it, even though a participant had little active involvement with his or her tribe, also demonstrated cultural

connectedness. The following Generation 2 participant spoke to his efforts to learn more about his family and tribe:

My mom, you know, is where I get my ethnicity from, my Indian is from. And she's at the latter end of her life. . . . That's part of the reason why I wanted to live with Mother was to be able to get to know my mother better. . . . And I want to know more about her; I want to know more about the family . . . And that's all about, you know, being Indian, too. I want to know more about traditions because I didn't really get much of that when I was a kid. . . . My mom has given me some family items, beadwork, and things. Who I was named after was my great-grandfather, and so he traveled around to a lot of different tribes and had different, you know, people had given gifts for a visit and things like that, and so I got a lot of those items. And so, that was something else that piqued my interest as well.

Loss or Retention of Culture

Numerous participants, from each of the generational groups, acknowledged the threat of cultural loss and spoke to the need to undertake efforts to retain culture while living in an urban area. The presences of the structure, loss or retention of culture, spoke to (a) factors involved in cultural loss, (b) challenges connecting to culture in the urban setting, and (c) retaining culture in the urban setting. The elaboration of this structure begins by presenting the factors participants identified as being related to cultural loss.

Factors Involved in Cultural Loss

Historical and other social factors, such as assimilationist policies, including mandatory boarding school attendance, have been widely cited by authorities as playing a major role in disrupting the transmission of culture in American Indian families (Brave Heart & DeBruyn, 1998; Cheshire, 2001). A number of participants also spoke of their belief that these factors were responsible for past generations in their families not passing on language and traditions to subsequent generations. One Generation 1 participant, in the quote below, confirmed this in the experiences of her family:

My grandparents, my mother's parents, spoke English as a second language, but they didn't teach the language to my mother or her brothers and sisters. And then my mother's grandmother was an herbalist, so she was a pretty traditional person, but I think she still was a Christian so she kind of straddled both religions But, you know, my mother just wasn't, I don't know if it was just the time that she grew up that it was kind of a time of assimilation, the federal policy was assimilation. My grandparents went to BIA boarding school, and so that was kind of the generation that the language and the traditions were being forced out of the Indians. So my mom was like right after that period, so she didn't really get a lot of tradition.

Most participants spoke in some way about being aware that they had been

affected by the assimilation process. One participant, who belonged to a tribe where she identified the majority of members as being highly assimilated, felt it was difficult for those members who wished to reestablish or strengthen their tribal traditions and sense of community to do so, because they lacked models for how this might be done. As this Generation 3 participant described, in her tribe, as elders passed away and the language died off, it was becoming difficult for those tribal members who were interested in doing so to keep their tribal culture alive to pass on to future generations.

But I really feel that we've kind of lost that connection because all the elders are dying, and with that, the language is dying. With that, the history is dying. And so there's not too many of us in my generation that are trying to keep that alive And so I think a lot of that's going to be lost [My bother] and I, we're at a loss. We don't really know how we can reestablish the tribal community. But I know that that's a big issue in many tribes, now that they're losing out. And I hope there's a resurgence somehow.

High rates of exogamous marriage among American Indians, too, has been cited as contributing to recent generations being more mixed blooded and phenotypically non-Indian (Thornton, 1997), and thus weakening cultural connections. In 4 of the 5 participant families, by the second generation, members were mixed blooded. A number of their parents (Generation 1 participants) also commented that being married to a non-Indian person had changed and/or limited their involvement in cultural activities and that

they felt it had affected the cultural connectedness of later generations. As was seen in several participant families, the latest generation of family members had little connection to or knowledge of Indian culture. This is illustrated in the following interview exchange with a Generation 3 participant:

[Interviewer:] Now you have a couple of nieces, and they would be like the fourth generation since your grandma came. So have they maintained connection with their Indian heritage or Indian culture?

[Participant:] Their mom takes them to the powwow every year, but other than that, no. They weren't a part of our family growing up; when they were little, they were around; but then as they got older, they were just pretty much with their mom's side of the family, so we didn't really see them as they were growing up. But she has told them, "Your dad is Indian," and they know they're Indian, but I don't think other than the powwow, she's exposed them [to Indian culture].

Another factor participants identified as being related to cultural loss was that

American Indians are an extremely small percentage of the population in relationship to other ethnic and cultural minorities in the urban environment. Thus, American Indians and their cultural expressions may simply not be seen, or they may become swallowed up in a mix of urban people of color. As one Generation 3 participant stated in the quote below, in order to counter this cultural loss, urban Indians must be aware of the importance of maintaining their cultural traditions and cultural uniqueness.

Living in the city, you're so much more aware [of] how much more different you are than everyone else . . . because we're really like a unique group of people. But on the reservation, they're all doing the same thing; they're all alike. But here, you're really just different from everyone. So you're just more aware of how unique you are, and going back to the responsibility thing again, how much you really need to uphold your traditions as much as you can.

Most participants believed that it is easy for an Indian person to become

disconnected from his or her culture when living in an urban area; participants felt that some Indians even come to the city with the intention of purposely disconnecting themselves from Indian culture. However, other urban Indian people may have a strong

desire to be connected to their culture but have difficulty linking with other Indians in the urban environment who are themselves culturally connected and who can help them begin to make the desired connections, as a young Generation 4 participant shared:

[Interviewer:] So you brought up something interesting in what you just said, this idea it's easier to be an Indian on your reservation than here. What's hard here?

[Participant:] It's definitely connecting with your culture. If you don't want to, then you can be as far separated from your culture as you want to, but if you're trying to connect and be able to find other Indians around, then you really have to try.

[Interviewer:] So you work harder to find those connections?

[Participant:] Yeah.

Likewise, participants identified that in some urban Indian families, members may demonstrate varying levels of interest in and connection to their family's tribal culture. Thus, an individual may again have difficulty linking with a person who can facilitate greater cultural connectedness. In extreme cases, participants believed, an individual may be from a family that has become almost totally disconnected from their own tribal ways. Individuals from these families then have little sense of being from a specific tribe and instead simply consider themselves to be Indian in a generic sense. Participants in this study, however, did not see their families as being part of this group.

In other cases, urban Indian persons may actually know more about the ways of another Indian tribe than they do about their own—sometimes to the point of having little connection to their own tribal ways, while being immersed in the ways of another tribe. Several participants had experienced a disconnection from their own tribal ways, which had left them feeling as if there was something missing in their lives that would be difficult to get back. Or they felt as if being strongly connected to their culture was part of a way of life previously experienced on the reservation but that has been lost to

contemporary urban Indian people. In the quote that follows, a Generation 2 participant expressed this sentiment:

Well, in terms of my spirituality, I mean, I don't really feel like I have a religion. I was raised in the Christian church, but I just never had any kind of connection there. It just didn't feel like it was right for me. And that was one thing that I always felt like was taken from me, that my traditional ways were taken from me and that it was just hard for me to find that again just because of the situation. So that's been something, I think, that's kind of been missing in my life.

Challenges Connecting to Culture in the Urban Setting

Participants held several perceptions of the effect that living in the city has had on their ability to be connected to Native culture. First, several saw themselves as less connected, overall, than their peers who live on the reservation/tribal community. Second, if they wanted to be culturally connected, they had to work hard to achieve that connection, whereas on the reservation, cultural connection is practically a given. And third, there are likely to be few people from their tribes in an urban area who themselves have a high degree of cultural connectedness and who can, in turn, help them strengthen their own connections. In instances where language, traditional spirituality, and other foundational aspects of culture have been lost either within a family or to the larger tribal group, participants advised that maintaining connections by internalizing traditional values and practicing any remaining tribal traditions becomes critical.

Being able to learn about and participate in traditional spirituality is one particular aspect of cultural connectedness that appears particularly problematic in an urban area. All participants recognized that participating in traditional spirituality imparts a strong sense of cultural connectedness. However, some participants felt that the opportunity to incorporate traditional spirituality into their lives was missing in the city. Others had

experienced traditional spirituality taking place in the city; although, it, like other aspects of Native culture, has been difficult to find, as this Generation 2 participant disclosed:

[Interviewer:] So are there any drawbacks to being an Indian person living in an urban area?

[Participant:] I think you don't have as much—I don't know what you want to call it—tradition, spirituality . . . I don't know how to explain it. Well, maybe you don't learn as much.

[Interviewer:] So things like the traditions, the spirituality—it's harder to find out how to learn it?

[Participant:] Right. Yeah. To suss—I mean, there are people here who do things, like [names local spiritual person] . . . he does his sweats and his prayer meetings, and that sort of thing. But you know, it's not like it's right there all the time. You have to seek it out.

Other participants considered adaptations to tribal-specific spiritual practices that they had seen take place in the city not to be in alignment with how they wished to express these traditions. Or, as the Generation 3 participant in the quote below conveyed, it may be difficult to know whether spiritual leaders in urban areas are legitimate and can be trusted:

[Participant:] Me and another guy were talking about experiences we've had and he's like, "You know, Lakotas have spirit guides and that's what you're experiencing. You're experiencing your spirit guides." And he's like, "You need to go to ceremony to find out who they are and get to know them," and so that's what he was suggesting for us. And that connection we don't have here and . . . and you don't know because you live in Denver and you haven't had that spiritual experience.

[Interviewer:] So maybe that's one difference for people who live here, the connection to traditional spirituality? I think you're saying it's missing here?

[Participant:] Definitely. It is missing. And the problem with that is, you know there are people but you don't know who to trust, is the whole issue. . . . it's just knowing who to trust and knowing who's the right person to teach you.

[Interviewer:] So that might be easier at home?

[Participant:] Yeah, I think so, because you could go to your family and [they'd] say who to go to.

Living in an urban area can also present challenges to maintaining connections to the social and political life of one's tribe. Not having easy access to one's tribe due either

to distance or loss of ties, and not knowing what is going on in one's tribal community can leave an urban Indian person feeling cutoff and as if he or she is losing yet another connection to his or her culture. In the quote below, one Generation 3 participant explained how this affected her and how her tribal involvement might have been different had she still lived in Oklahoma:

I may have followed in [my mom's] footsteps and my aunt's footsteps and been really involved in the tribe. I mean, my mom was part of the Tribal Council. I might have been part of that. And so I think I would have been more connected with the tribe and tried to help there. I know that there's a big struggle down there right now between [names a tribe] and the [names her tribe], like, so I probably would have been very involved with that and tried to change things on a maybe more political level. But now that I'm in here, that's so far away, and it almost doesn't seem like it affects me anymore.

Retaining Culture in the Urban Setting

Despite the many challenges to acquiring and strengthening cultural connectedness posed by the urban setting, participants judged that life off reservation did not signal an automatic loss of culture nor an end to participating in traditions and activities connected to Indian culture. Participants who had experienced being able to connect deeply to their cultures while living in an urban area often supposed most reservation-based Indians to hold the false belief that they would lose their culture if they, too, came to the city and that their culture would be taken away from them in the urban environment. A Generation 3 participant voiced this sentiment as follows:

I think that some people probably think that if they leave the reservation they are going to leave things behind, they're gonna leave their culture behind. That they'll have to forget those things, and you don't. But I think some people just are afraid to do that, because they think they will forget them; they won't do things anymore.

Being around Indian culture was not seen by participants as synonymous with feeling connected to that culture; to have a sense of cultural connectedness required that an individual have some level of active involvement in cultural activities and interactions with other Indian people. However, some participants revealed that their families had not found it difficult or had not had to take extraordinary measures to maintain their connection to their culture; culture-maintaining behaviors had been embedded naturally into their everyday lives, such as was the experience of this Generation 3 participant:

[Participant:] They couldn't obviously bring us the whole culture, but they tried to teach us what the Indian culture was. By speaking to each other . . . by having us have the foods that they cooked, by taking us to the powwows, by taking us to the Indian Center and just introducing us to all that stuff. And, of course, for me that was just the way it was, I didn't think it was different.

[Interviewer:] It sounds like, for your family, they were able to take the culture with them and bring it here in such a way that it didn't seem like they were doing anything extraordinary to maintain it.

[Participant:] Yeah.

Being Involved With Indian Culture

The cultural connectedness style, being involved with Indian culture, identifies both the types of cultural activities that produced a sense of cultural connectedness for participants and also the ways that being part of these activities increased participants' sense of being connected. This style contains two presences that are discussed below: (a) cultural activities, events, and powwows, and (b) Indian community involvement.

Cultural Activities, Events, and Powwows

Immersion in Indian culture was a way through which participants saw it possible to remain culturally connected. This could be achieved through two primary means: participation in Indian-focused events and activities, and interactions with other Indians that occurred as a result of involvement in these activities. Attending powwows, social activities organized by programs in the local Indian community, and other cultural events taking place at urban Indian Centers created and strengthened cultural connectedness for many participants. For example, some participants, such as the Generation 2 participant in the quote below, connected to Indian culture by attending a Christian church with an Indian congregation, whereas others found their connectedness through the practice of traditional spirituality or a combination of Christian and traditional spiritual expression.

My experience of Christianity was never a negative one; in fact, my fondest, fondest memories and what I credit my foundation on to this day was my experience with Christianity, because it was so positive. . . . My grandfather, my grandmother's husband, who was my step-grandfather, was what they call a church deacon. My stepfather's father was an Episcopal priest. My uncle was an Episcopal priest. So like I said earlier, everything we did centered around the church, and it was positive. And it was about being Indian, yeah. . . . We'd have these wonderful meals and we'd have service and we'd sing. I love to sing in Indian; I love those old hymns.

Participating in the types of Indian-focused activities mentioned above also brought participants together with other Indian people and gave them a sense of being meaningfully connected to others with a shared cultural background. For many participants, it also created a sense of comfort in social settings that they did not find in social interactions with non-Indians. One Generation 3 participant explained how she felt when involved in activities with other Indian people in her urban Indian community:

You go and you see people from different tribes and you see how much you have in common with them and how much you can share with them, and there's just this whole part of being Indian—you can be Indian but you can be your tribe. It's just really comfortable. . . . People from all different backgrounds are there, so I think it's just that whole being together and being comfortable, fitting in.

Continuing she added,

[Interviewer:] So do you think that for people living in an urban area finding other Indian people, is that something that we do to help ourselves feel connected?

[Participant:] Definitely, and like I said, it doesn't matter to me that not everybody is Lakota or Sicangu, they're Indian. We all have that in common. . . . We go to Kateri Catholic Community, and that's why I think I go to a Catholic Church. If Kateri wasn't there, I'd probably not. I go there, and there's Indian people, there and I feel comfortable there. And you know, I go to the church down the street, and I'm sitting there going, wow, this is a little different here (laughter) Powwows and events that the Indian Center, we've been going to a lot of youth events there. Most participants believed that it was especially important for their children,

grandchildren, and other youth to participate in Indian activities taking place in the urban environment and for adults to role model involvement with Indian culture. Some participants made efforts to connect their younger family members to Indian culture through community-based urban Indian youth programs, public school district Indian Education Program activities, and powwows. Young people's involvement in cultural activities was seen to strengthen their cultural connectedness and, in some cases, served to strengthen adult family members' connectedness, as well.

The types of activities in the urban environment that were seen to create and strengthen cultural connectedness were, for the most part, of an intertribal nature. Participants pointed out, however, that although these activities created a sense of connectedness to a shared Indian culture, they could also be a link to connectedness with an individual's tribal-specific culture. Participating in these kinds of activities could spur interest in learning about one's tribal ways and could bring individuals together with elders and other members of the individual's tribe who lived in the city. However, for individuals from tribes with few other members in the city, connectedness with members of other tribes might be the only available option, making it more likely that they would have a generalized type of cultural connectedness or a connectedness with another tribal culture.

Indian Community Involvement

Involvement in their local Indian community, in a work, volunteer, or other community setting, or by helping or being of service to other Indian people, was a way numerous participants connected with their culture. One Generation 3 participant demonstrated this aspect of cultural connectedness and how it tied into cultural values she had been taught as follows:

Then a lot of the teachings that my grandparents had instilled in me were really coming to fruition when I got older. They always told me when you're in a position to help other Indians that's what you need to do, and I came to realize that I was in that position so I needed to start giving back to the community, volunteering, you know, doing whatever I can. And another part was finishing my degree; we were always taught that when you get your education, you give that back to your people too; and that's one of the reasons why I went to work for [names an urban Indian organization].

Serving on behalf of an organization that addresses Native issues or becoming politically involved in Native issues are ways that an individual can

connect to Indian culture and other Indian people, as did this Generation 2

participant:

I've been in politics for a long time, and I worked at the [names urban Indian organization] as a board member, and I worked for [names another urban Indian organization] here. So I've done different projects. I worked on this Indian art project . . . I was involved with the Indian program at my university.

Carrying on or re-creating the Indian community involvement of family members

was also a way some participants created and strengthened cultural connectedness, as in

the following scenario provided by a Generation 3 participant:

And then one thing that has always stayed in my mind that my grandma told me when I was little was, she said, "Your mom is really viewed in a good way in the community for what she does for other people, and you need to carry that on." That has always stayed in my mind, and so I try to carry that on because she's not here and I'm here. A lot of people tell me, "Oh, I knew your mom," and so, to me that's really important to carry that on.

With the completion of the elaborations of selected cultural connectedness

structures and styles, the presentation of the findings in this chapter moves on to the final

section. In this last section, six individual descriptive syntheses of participants'

experiences can be found. These descriptive syntheses illustrate the distinctive ways in

which the structures and styles manifest in individuals' experiences as well as the manner

in which various structures and styles interact with one another.

Individual Descriptive Syntheses of the Structures and Styles of Cultural Connectedness

The individual descriptive syntheses of cultural connectedness for six participants who represent Generations 1 through 4 can be found below. (Please turn to Appendix 5 for the complete set of individual descriptive syntheses.)

Shirley—Generation 1

For several years after Shirley came to Denver with her non-Indian husband, she was isolated from other Indian people and unaware of the Indian community that was taking shape in the city. Her involvement in a job-training program related to the Relocation Program helped her make social contacts and develop friendships with Indian people and, through them, connect to the urban Indian culture present in the city. She had always felt she fit in and belonged with other Indian people regardless of tribe, and so she was elated to once again be around other Indians. She immersed herself and her children in community activities, helping out at powwows, supporting the youth programs her children were involved in, being a foster parent to Indian children, and playing an active role in the Indian Catholic Church in her community. All of these elements were vital to creating in Shirley a sense that she was connected to Indian culture.

Long-term and stable relationships with other Indian people in her community are Shirley's main connection to Indian culture. She has few remaining connections to her reservation community, so being with other Indian people, regardless of their tribe, is more important to her than being with people from her specific tribal group. An important part of her connection to Indian culture comes from being exposed to a variety of tribal people and their traditional ways. The friendships she has had with many Indian

women, who like herself lived in Denver, have supported and sustained her over the years, and she still keeps in touch with old friends, even some who have since returned to their reservations.

Traditional values and ways of thinking have continually organized Shirley's cognitive and decision-making schema. She has always felt that living in accordance with traditional cultural values represented her connection to her culture. Relying on this connection to her culture has helped her understand and resolve challenging and tragic events in her life. Being part of an urban Indian community of people who shared these values and practiced traditional ways of relating to and treating one another helped her re-embrace these values and strengthen her connection to Indian culture, after being married at a young age to a non-Indian who disapproved of her ways and isolated her away from other Indians.

Raised as a Catholic in her tribal community, she continues to feel a connection to the Indian Catholic Church. However, traditional spirituality and ceremonies are another important part of Shirley's cultural connectedness, and she remains open to beliefs and experiences related to traditional Indian spirituality as reflective of another way that she maintains her connectedness to Indian culture. In the multi-tribal urban environment, she has been exposed to people from many different tribes and has been able to experience their traditions and ceremonies, both in the city and by traveling with them back to their reservations.

Traditional values also continue to structure the way she thinks about her relationships with her family members and the interactions they have. She was raised by her grandmother and has followed, with her own grandchildren, the tradition of

grandparents raising their grandchildren when the parents are unable to do so. She has also followed the cultural tradition of raising children with the help of a community, something she has done in Denver with the support of friends and the Indian Catholic Church.

Shirley has never had the opportunity to take her children back to her reservation, a place where she has few remaining connections, so for many years she was their only connection to Indian people and Indian culture. Passing on to her children a connection to Indian culture was important to her, so after Shirley reconnected to other Indian people through an urban Indian organization, she made sure her children became immersed in the Indian community.

Being able to occupy an “Indian space” in which only other Indian people are present is an additional aspect of her cultural connectedness that is vital to Shirley. She finds it very comforting to go into a space that is separate from the White culture and where she can achieve a feeling of oneness with other Indian people. This she does by spending time in nurturing environments with the Indian people that are important to her and who have supported her over the years.

Belinda—Generation 2

Her most fundamental connection to her culture comes to Belinda through connections with other Indian people. These connections were built and reinforced by her grandparents and other extended family members while she was growing up on her reservation. Leaving them behind when she accompanied her mother and stepfather when they relocated to Denver was initially a tremendous loss to her. However, after her family got settled in the city, she found that she had not lost her family members but that these

connections were maintained, because those on the reservation frequently came to visit her family in the city. These extended family relationships remained vitally important to her during her years of living in an urban area.

When her family arrived in Denver as Relocates in the mid-1950s, there was no Indian community as there is now, so her early connections to other Indians in Denver were with other Relocates and their children. These individuals created an environment surrounded by Indian culture in which Belinda continued to be immersed, as she had been with her extended family on her reservation. Belinda's family did not return to their reservation for 7 years after arriving in the city, but they maintained connections to family on the reservation by bringing them to Denver to visit or live. In this way, Belinda maintained connections to her culture through interactions with kin. It was not until she was an adult that Belinda began returning more frequently to her reservation.

Belinda has always connected to the spiritual parts of Indian culture through Christianity rather than traditional spirituality. Her main connections to Indian people in the city have been through the Episcopal Church. Indian Christian churches in the city have also provided her, since her family's arrival in the city, with a way to connect to Indian culture while living in an urban area.

During the civil rights era, Belinda attempted to broaden her connections to Indian culture through involvement in Indian activism and the American Indian Movement. It felt to her, however, that within these activist groups, being full blooded and participating in traditional spirituality were requirements for inclusion and acceptance. She remembered that she was made to feel like an outsider because she was mixed blooded and did not go to sweat lodges. This experience served to strengthen her

feeling that as an Indian person, she was first and foremost connected to her extended family on the reservation and Indian Christianity, which in her view, had embedded within it many elements of traditional spirituality.

Belinda believes that the connection to Indian culture that has come to her through the church has protected her from alcoholism and addiction. Her experience of growing up in a home with many alcoholics and drug users is a less positive connection Belinda has with her culture, but this experience has also spurred her to incorporate traditional Indian values into the way she lives her life. She considers an important connection to her culture, which she now holds, to be living by Indian values that stress sobriety and creating a home where members are substance free. These same Indian values underlie her desire to help individuals and communities overcome addiction and help Indian youth connect to the healthy aspects of their culture.

Belinda, who was born on the reservation and lived there until age 11, sees that the way of life she lived as a child on the reservation is now changing. She believes that the type of connections to Indian culture she experienced there are breaking down and being lost to younger generations, even those still living on the reservation. As a result of spending much of her childhood on the reservation, she considers herself to have had a different exposure to her culture than did her younger siblings, who were born in the city; and thus, her connectedness to her culture is also different than theirs. Belinda maintains the type of the connectedness to her culture that she associates with her childhood by remembering and honoring the spirits of her relatives who have passed away.

Even though she feels most connected to Indian culture through her relatives back on the reservation, Belinda has also been able to create her own type of Indian world in

the city, a place where relationships with other people are foremost and where she enjoys her really good friends, both Indian and non-Indian.

Caroline—Generation 2

Close friends in the Indian community give Caroline a feeling of being connected to her culture, and it is important to her to bring Indian people together and create powerful connections between them. It is easier for Caroline to make connections with Indian people than with people of other ethnicities, because she sees her Indian friends as having a value system and way of being that is like her own. She connects with Indian people in a different way than she does with non-Indians, and as a result, establishes long-term friendships through which she feels she can be herself—a caring, supportive, and helpful person—while not having to worry that she will feel judged or criticized by her friends. She relaxes and is more herself when she is with Indian friends, because she sees them as more concerned with other people than are non-Indians.

Caroline's connectedness to Indian culture is not expressed through involvement in the urban Indian community where she lives or participation in Indian-related activities and events, although she was active in the community when she was younger. Instead, her cultural connectedness is expressed through the long and enduring friendships she has with her Indian friends from many different tribes. Because her family is the only family in Denver from her tribe, she has not had opportunities to interact with others from her tribe. The connections to Indian culture that come to her through her Indian friends are intertribal in nature rather than specific to her tribe.

Caroline's mother lost contact with her family many years before Caroline was born, so she did not grow up with other Indian family members who could help her make

a connection to her culture by learning about her tribal ways or family heritage. She was not exposed to Indian culture or Indian people much as a young child. She has never been to her mother's reservation. Using her tribe's name and location when identifying her ethnicity has nothing to do with her feeling any connection to her tribal-specific culture, but is done simply because she knows people will ask.

When she was younger, Caroline felt no draw to her mother's reservation; but as she is getting older, it is becoming more important to her to go back there to see what it is like and reconnect with family members still living there. She lived with her ex-husband and his family on their reservation, but remembers it as a bad experience and a life full of extreme depravation and inconvenience.

Caroline knows more about other tribes, especially the Lakota, than she knows about her own—about which she knows almost nothing. She shares that she does not worry much about not knowing her own tribal ways, even though she realizes that she has become totally disconnected from them. Throughout her lifetime, feeling as if she fit in around the majority Lakota culture of the city where she lived, and participating in their cultural practices, as well as having friends from other tribes, has satisfied her need for connection to Indian culture.

Caroline was around few Indian people when she was very young, but began in her late elementary school years to make contacts with them through her mother's work at the original Denver Indian Center. She participated in an intertribal youth program as a teenager, and there she met a boyfriend whom she would later marry. For a time, the exposure to crafts, artwork, songs, and dancing she received through this program and the powwows, sweat lodges, and Indian community activities she participated in with her

boyfriend and his family drew her more deeply into Indian culture and strengthened her connection to it. But, she recalls, she never really felt like she was a part of the community and always had a sense of looking in at it from the outside, because she was a quiet person who could never get fully involved. As an adult, she briefly deepened her involvement with the Indian community and Indian people by becoming involved in her children's school district Indian Education Program.

Caroline's experience has been that it is hard to learn about traditions and Indian spirituality when one lives in the city, because these are grounded in the reservation setting. She has had to specifically seek out in the city the ceremonies and opportunities to learn about and participate in traditional spirituality, and these have not always been readily available. Because of this difficulty, she has sought out additional avenues of Indian spiritual expression, such as going to an Indian Catholic Church, praying together with other Indian people, and performing personalized rituals like smudging and doing blessings. Caroline sees the value she places on being connected with other people as an expression of her connection to traditional Indian spirituality.

An important connection to Indian culture that Caroline does feel is her connectedness to Indian values, especially those of being generous and helping people. By helping people without an expectation of reciprocity and being generous because she wants to, Caroline feels she stays connected to her culture, because she is exemplifying positive Indian values she was born with and that were strengthened by the examples her mother set. Currently, she does not practice any communal or group expressions of traditional spirituality, but instead incorporates personalized rituals related to traditional spirituality into her daily life. These she does in her home, which she has created as a

specifically Indian space in an urban setting and which affords her, through her gifts of cooking and visiting, opportunities to nurture and support her most important connection to her culture—her Indian friends.

Angela—Generation 3

Angela remembers having few associations with other Indian people during her childhood other than with family members. Because of this, she attributes the connection that she now has to Indian culture to have come from her grandparents and extended family members. Angela did not feel much connection to Indian culture until recently, even though she had been around Indian culture all her life as result of the involvement of family members in cultural activities and her participation in powwows from the time she was a toddler. Taking part in Indian activities, such as her extensive involvement in powwows, was not enough to give her a feeling of cultural connectedness, because as she was growing up, she lived away from her grandparents and mostly isolated in her daily life from other Indians. Her interest, as an adult, in increasing her connectedness was spurred by seeing how her grandparents were raising her own daughter in alignment with cultural values and traditions and by observing her daughter becoming involved in cultural activities.

Angela now realizes that her feelings of cultural connectedness come through the relationships she has with other Indians and through living by traditional Lakota values. Working with other Indian people as a staff member in an urban Indian agency and being of service to the agency's clients gives her a sense of being connected to Indian culture and allows her to demonstrate cultural values in the way she treats people. Working with other Indian people has also helped her strengthen her cultural connectedness by allowing

her to identify things she has in common with other Indians. Immersion in her urban Indian community through involvement in many activities and causes alongside other community members seems to her like a natural part of being connected to her culture and it has given her a sense of being part of a community. This involvement is modeled after that of her grandparents and mother, who she considers to be very connected to their culture.

Angela has had little connection to her reservation and the tribal community from which her grandparents came, although she does consider it “home” and a place where she feels she belongs. She does not feel a strong enough connection to her reservation to want to go back there to live. She conceives of the reservation as the place where traditions happen—she often uses the terms, reservation and culture, interchangeably—and so she has always feared that she is missing out on learning her traditions, and especially traditional spirituality, by living in an urban area. Because of this, she feels she is not as culturally connected as she would be if she lived on her reservation. Angela can be seen to be managing two different connections to physical spaces where Indians are found—she wants the city and her urban Indian community to be the place she lives and the reservation the place she visits.

Angela finds it difficult to be connected to the culture of her specific band of her tribal group while living in the city, but she has associations with many other Lakotas from different bands. She considers her relationship with a person from her specific Lakota band to be different than one she would have with a person from another Lakota band.

Angela attends an Indian Catholic Church rather than the church down the street from her home, because it gives her an opportunity to be in a setting where she can feel connected to other Indian people in a way that is similar to how she feels when attending powwows and other events in the Indian community. She finds that she has a growing desire to be involved in traditional Lakota spirituality as a way of enacting her growing sense of cultural connectedness. However, because she is unsure of who to trust to lead traditional spiritual practices and because she believes that these should be done in a very specific way, which would be difficult to find in the city, she has been unable to fully embrace this aspect of her culture connectedness.

As a result of her involvement in a work and community settings with Indians from other tribes, Angela is in the process of learning about other Native cultures, and this, too, gives her a sense of being culturally connected. She has had to learn about other tribes in order to be respectful of their ways, and in doing this, she has come to believe that Indian people all have a connection to one another, even if they do things differently. Through her interactions with Indians from other tribes, she believes she has come to better understand her own tribe's values. However, Angela believes that tribal-specific traditions should be at the heart of an individual's connection to Native culture. She is concerned that in the case of many urban Indian young people, connection to non-tribal-specific Indian cultures, such as the powwow culture, may be replacing their tribal-specific connectedness.

Brooke—Generation 3

Immersing herself in activities that are associated with her culture, such as powwows and tribal-specific ceremonies, is the way Brooke stays connected to her culture. She believes that ceremonies, such as the sweat lodge and Sundance, and other aspects of traditional spirituality are what constitute culture, and she believes that opportunities to take part in traditional spirituality are available on an ongoing basis on her reservation.

In contrast, she feels that opportunities for her to be involved in Lakota spirituality in the city are limited and so she does not see herself as being as connected to her culture when she is in the urban setting as when she is on her reservation. As a result, going to her reservation to participate in ceremonies and powwows and to visit relatives is what Brooke feels connects her most to her tribal culture. Making the transition back and forth between the city and the reservation requires her to make emotional, cognitive, and behavioral adjustments' but this is not difficult for her even though she does not actively maintain contacts with family and other people on the reservation when she is in the city.

Brooke makes a distinction between “her culture” as embodied in the traditional spirituality of her tribe or powwows that take place on her reservation, and “Indian culture,” an intertribal Indian culture that she associates with the powwows that take place in urban areas. Due to this distinction, Brooke feels that involvement in her specific tribal culture is not happening for her in the urban environment and that it happens only when she is on the reservation and taking part powwows or ceremonies there. Visiting the reservation gives her a sense of cultural connectedness that is different from the cultural

connectedness she feels in the city, and this being the case, she sees that when she and her family are in the city, they are as involved in their culture as much as is possible in that environment. Thus, when living in the city, connecting to the intertribal Indian culture is what is primarily available to her, and she identifies powwows as a way that she and other urban Indian young people maintain this cultural connection.

Learning about her tribal culture is another way that creates cultural connectedness for Brooke. This happens for her through elders and other people she knows who are knowledgeable about cultural ways. She considers family to be the way that culture is transmitted. She is acquainted with some urban Indian young people who have less of a connection to their culture than she has; she attributes this to their families' not having remained involved in cultural activities and practices, thus making it difficult for these young people to learn from family members about their tribes and traditions. Brooke believes that if these young people want to feel more culturally connected, they should find an elder or knowledgeable person living in the city that can help them learn about their culture

Experiencing discrimination and feeling she does not fit in go hand-in-hand with Brooke's feeling of being culturally connected. She senses that living in the city could make it easy for her to move away from her culture and eventually lose her connectedness in the desire not to stand out as different. Instead, however, she acknowledges that being a member of a very small minority in a large urban area is difficult and that it requires her to make concerted efforts to maintain her connection to her culture—which she does through the practice of her tribal traditions.

Cheryl—Generation 2

Cheryl believes her connectedness to Indian culture comes through her mother and one of her brothers. She identifies strongly with her mother, who she has constructed as a powerful symbol of Indianness, as a way of reinforcing her connection to her tribal-specific culture. Returning home to her family's tribal area in Oklahoma has always given her a sense of belonging and cultural connectedness. The family cohesiveness she experiences when she is around her relatives and the way they interact together, telling stories and joking, exemplifies to her one important aspect of what she considers to be cultural connectedness. Cheryl grew up learning the traditional value of respect for parents, elders, and all life; and in retrospect, she now also credits that, as well as her parents' use of traditional child-rearing and disciplinary practices, to helping her feel she has experienced Indian culture.

Traditional spirituality plays a very important role in her sense of connection to Indian culture. Unable to learn about her own tribe's traditional spirituality, she has studied that of the Lakota and become familiar with their worldview and practices. Simply knowing about the history of her tribe and trying to find out about its traditions and spirituality create in Cheryl a feeling of being connected to her culture. Remembering and honoring the struggles of her parents and her ancestors also plays a part of her connectedness.

Other traditions, such as language, history, and elders, and being part of a cohesive group are aspects that Cheryl identifies as connecting a person to Indian culture. She considers being a member of a visible and viable tribal community to be one part of cultural connectedness, but she does not actually have any connections to a community

such as this. Instead she has read books and learned from family members that there is a band of her tribe where the people still retain many of the traditions. She believes that being able to go back to Canada and be with these traditional people would help her reconnect with her culture.

Cheryl has tried to write down stories she remembers being told by some of her elders, and she strives to retain these stories as a way of maintaining connections to a particular tribal tradition as well as being able to pass them on to future generations. She strives to live in accordance with women's traditional gender roles as is exemplified by her conscious choice to take on the traditional women's role of caring for her parents as ways of remaining connected her tribal culture. Lastly, Cheryl feels a sense of cultural connection through traditional tribal artifacts that belong to her family and are in the possession of her mother.

Cheryl's connections to other Indian people are exclusively with members of her family in Oklahoma; she has not sought out relationships with other Indian people. Her phenotypically White appearance causes her to be self-consciousness around other Indians and has caused her to avoid Indian community events unless she is with her mother or brother. Thus, she is neither involved in the urban Indian community nor does she interact with other Indian people in the urban setting in which she lives, and her only current connections with other Indians are with family members. She feels she has re-created in the urban environment the cohesive family group she experienced in the past in Oklahoma; however, members of this current group are all non-Indians.

Living in an urban area causes Cheryl to feel that she is losing her connection to her tribal culture, because it is difficult for her to know what is going on with her tribe in

Oklahoma. Keeping up on tribal happenings and visiting her tribal area are things Cheryl feels would help her increase her cultural connectedness. She feels she is one of only a few tribal members of her generation who are really interested in staying connected to their tribal-specific culture, and to do this, she believes that it is important for her to be a part of re-establishing her tribal community. However, she has no ideas as to how she might be a part of making this happen.

Involvement in tribal politics is a way of being culturally connected that Cheryl has identified, as is being an activist around larger Indian issues. She has done neither of these, however, because she considers that she will have to know a lot more about the larger Indian issues before she can become active. Her goal is to eventually move in that direction, and she believes that this will increase her sense of cultural involvement and lead to an increased sense of cultural connectedness. Currently, reading Native literature, exhibiting her Nateness outwardly through the jewelry and clothing she wears, and spending time in the familiar and relaxed company of her mother and brother are the main strategies that Cheryl uses to stay connected to her culture.

Chapter Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has identified and discussed the cultural connectedness styles and structures that together interact to describe each study participant's engagement with the phenomenon. A narrative synthesis of these structures and styles, which depicted in a generalized way the collective experience of participants with this phenomenon was also presented. Selected cultural identity structures and styles were elaborated upon; and to conclude, the chapter offered the individual narratives of 6 participants' experiences related to their cultural connectedness to illustrate the unique ways that participants

expressed the beliefs and behaviors contained within the structures and styles. In the next chapter, the findings of an intergenerational analysis of the two study phenomena will be presented.

CHAPTER 6. FINDINGS: INTERGENERATIONAL ANALYSIS OF THE STRUCTURES AND STYLES OF CULTURAL IDENTITY AND CULTURAL CONNECTEDNESS

Introduction

This chapter offers the findings of an intergenerational analysis of each of the structures and styles of cultural identity and cultural connectedness presented in Chapters 4 and 5. Focusing first on the phenomenon of cultural identity, the chapter provides a general discussion of the characteristics of each generational group and then go on to compare and contrast the differences and similarities between generations in relation to each of the structures and styles of cultural identity. In the second half of the chapter, the characteristics of each generational group as they relate to the phenomenon of cultural connectedness are described and followed again by the results of the intergenerational analysis of each structure and style of cultural connectedness.

Intergenerational Analysis of Cultural Identity

Generational Characteristics of Cultural Identity

The generational characteristics discussed below are intended to provide the reader with a fuller picture of the generational groups examined in this study. They include demographics as well as experiences and attitudes common to each of the groups and that inform the cultural identity of study participants.

Generation 1

All five members of Generation 1, four women and one man, were born either on their reservations or in tribal communities. They ranged in age from 73 to 88 years old; four of the five were full blooded. Three Generation 1 participants had been married to other Indians, although all were now widowed, and two had been married to non-Indians. All four women had had children who were fathered by non-Indian men, and the one male participant had children with a woman from his same reservation community, who had a higher blood quantum than he did. (Please refer to Table 11 for Generation 1 demographics.)

Each Generation 1 participant came to Denver having experienced life as an American Indian living on a reservation or in a tribal community during the first half of the 20th Century. Each arrived in the city with an established Indian identity and the cultural connections typical of a person who had grown up in an Indian family that lived in a tribal community; each Generation 1 participant had also attended a government or church-run boarding school.

Generation 1s recounted having a great deal of interaction with non-Indians prior to arriving in Denver. Some had this contact while growing up on their reservations, whereas for others, such interaction came through working as young adults for White bosses in border towns or even on their reservations, or when serving in the military. Still others had married a non-Indian prior to moving to an urban area. One participant attributed these experiences with Whites, along with speaking English well, to her and many other Relocates' ability to successfully make the transition from reservation to urban life.

Upon arriving in Denver, Generation 1s engaged in a process of re-establishing home and setting down roots. Returning to their reservation or tribal community was not something most reported that they had longed to do. Many Generation 1s purchased a house soon after arriving, most found good paying jobs (at which some remained for many years), and all intended to raise their children in the city.

City life was not reported by Generation 1 participants as being particularly difficult; they did not recall, in retrospect, that there was much struggle involved in starting a new life in Denver. Instead, in addition to establishing a life in the city, Generation 1 participants began to engage in a process of connecting with other Indian people in the urban environment and building an Indian community. They made connections with other Indians, from both their own and other tribes, through churches, basketball teams, Indian bars, powwows, and when it opened in the mid-1970s, the first Denver Indian Center. One participant, who had attended a large Indian boarding school with girls from many different tribes, found that a number of past classmates had also been relocated to Denver as she and her husband had been. Generations 1s formed and engaged in social relationships in the urban context in much the same way as they had in the tribal communities from which they had come.

Participants from Generation 1 continued, as of the time of this study, to hold a traditional view of the structure of their families, similar to those discussed by Cross (1986) and Redhorse, Lewis, Feit, and Decker (1978). For these Generation 1 participants, family was spoken of as being “back on the reservation,” although some family members were likely to have also come to Denver. For this generational group, however, at the time of this study, ties to family on the reservation were commonly

weakening due to the deaths of older family members and not having had the opportunity to get to know younger generations.

Table 11

Generation 1 Demographics

Family #	Age/ Gender	Year to Denver	Tribal Region and/or Group	Relocation Process	Family Composition at Relocation
1	88 Male	1948	Northern Plains (Lakota/Dakota)	Voluntary choice to explore new area and employment opportunities	Single male accompanied by future wife and her family
2	84 Female	1956	Northern Plains (Lakota/Dakota)	Relocation Program	Wife, husband, and 4 children ages 2-11
3	81 Female	1963	Northern Plains (Lakota/Dakota)	Brief participation in Relocation Program; later returned on own	Widow with adult children and 7-year- old child
4	74 Female	1965	Northeast	Accompanied husband who transferred w/armed forces	Wife and husband
5	mid-70s Female	1967	Oklahoma	Accompanied husband who took new job in area	Wife, husband, and 3 children ages 5, 7, and 9

Generations 2, 3, and 4

Of the five families participating in the study, three were living in Denver by the mid-1950s and two arrived between 1965 and 1967. Among the Generation 2 participants, some were born on their reservations/tribal communities and others were born in Denver or another urban area. All Generation 3 participants were born in Denver, as were some of the Generation 4 members of the study families; other Generation 4 members were born in cities across the country. (Note: In all but one family, Generation 4 members were either too young to be interviewed or were not living in Denver. As a result, members of earlier generations in these families were asked to reflect upon issues

of cultural identity for these younger members.) (Table 12 summarizes the demographics for participants of Generations 2, 3 and 4.)

Six Generation 2 participants were interviewed, and after analysis, it was determined that one of these participants, who was considerably younger than other Generation 2 members of her family, was of an age and shared characteristics more like the members of Generation 3. For purposes of this generational comparison, she was moved to Generation 3, leaving five Generation 2 participants, who ranged in age from their early forties to early sixties. The middle-adulthood ages of Generation 2 participants may have accounted for some of the similarity in their experiences related to being Indian and in the ways they conceptualized and expressed their cultural identity. This was consistent with an earlier study done by the author in which participants revealed developmental-like stages related to American Indian identity (Lucero, 2008).

The eight Generations 3 and 4 participants (as well as the other members of Generation 4 who were too young to be interviewed) represented a wide age span. Individuals ranged from elementary school-age children and teenagers to those in their late forties. Participants from Generations 3 and 4 reported experiences of being Indian and thinking about their identity that were consistent with their ages and developmental levels. The wide range in age among Generation 3s and 4s did, however, make it more difficult to compare their cultural identity with those of Generation 2 participants, especially if, as some participants discussed, cultural identity represents a developmental process that evolves across the life span. Thus, it may be that some of the generational differences discussed in this section may also be attributable, in part, to differences in

developmental stage of the participant rather than other changes occurring as a result of urbanization or other social and cultural factors.

Table 12

Individual Participant Demographics for Generations 2, 3, and 4

Family #	Participant Generation #	Age	Gender
1	2	48	Male
	3	34	Female
	3	36	Female
	4	17	Female
2	2	62	Female
	3	44	Female
	3	47	Female
3	2	45	Female
	3	17	Female
	3	24	Male
4	2	41	Female
	3	20	Male
5	2	38	Female
	2	48	Male
	3	Elementary school-age children	Male

Four of the five Generation 2 participants had extensive contact with their reservation or tribal community while growing up, whereas one had had no contact, and to the present time, had never visited her mother's reservation. In another case, a participant did not return to her reservation for 7 years after her family came to Denver through the Relocation Program. However, instead of going back and forth to the reservation, her mother and father brought relatives to Denver on a regular basis, and in this way, maintained strong connections to their reservation and extended family. Only one Generation 1 participant never returned to her reservation after relocating to Denver with her non-Indian husband. In her situation, family members had been separated from

one another as young children, and the tribal community from which she had come had experienced serious disruptions, as well.

Three Generation 2 participants who did have contact with their reservation/tribal community reported going back and forth between the city and these areas and maintaining contact with family members there regularly during their childhoods. In some study families, Generation 3s reported going “back home” as often as every week for a decade or more after their grandparents had settled in Denver. Families who did so were able to sustain their regular travels back and forth between the city and the reservation for approximately 15 to 20 years from the time of their arrival, although as time passed, the intervals between visits became wider. One identified reason for this was that job and other responsibilities in the city gradually became more demanding.

As members of Generation 2 entered their late teenage or early adult years, family visits became less frequent, and in most families, eventually nearly ceased or became only yearly events. Conceptualization of these trips to the reservation evolved from “going back home,” as they were considered by Generation 1s, to “going to the reservation” or “visiting relatives on the reservation,” as referred to by Generation 2s, 3s, and 4s. Generations 2, 3, and 4 participants all conveyed a definite sense that Denver was now home and a place connected to responsibilities such as work and maintaining one’s home.

One member of Generation 2 had a different experience from other Generation 2 participants. She was from a very large and well-known family on her reservation, and numerous members of her family, as well as close family friends from the reservation, had for decades established a pattern of alternately living either on the reservation or in

Denver. To illustrate, family members would leave the reservation to live and work in Denver for a time, return to the reservation for a period, and then return again to the city. To date, this participant and her Generation 3 children had continued to make regular trips to the reservation and had even returned to live for a period on the reservation. This pattern was seen to be continuing for her grandchild (Generation 4) in that her son and his wife regularly alternated between living in the city and on the reservation.

Participants from Generation 2 appeared to conceptualize their families' structures in a way similar to their parents, but to act as a family unit in a way that more resembled its having a nuclear structure. The grandchildren and great-great grandchildren of Generation 1 participants (Generation 3s and 4s) had moved even further in the direction of families that were structured in a nuclear way; and although they may not have been consciously aware, they spoke of their families in a way that indicated they were moving away from considering them to be a kinship group, as did earlier generations.

In Generation 2, participants belonged to families that were beginning to have an increasing number of non-Indian members. This mix continued to grow for Generations 3 and 4 participants, whose family members might not only include non-Indians, but Indians from other tribes, as well. Additionally, Generations 3 and 4 family members might be widely scattered across the country.

"Knowing your relatives on the reservation" began to be an important indicator of Indianness for Generation 2 participants, and one Generation 2 participant even termed it an "urban Indian skill." For Generations 3 and 4, whether one knew his or her relatives on the reservation stood as a major proof of identity and cultural connectedness.

However, for Generation 3, and especially Generation 4 participants, going back to the reservation/tribal community was an infrequent event (with the exception of the Family 3 discussed above), making it more difficult to get to know family members living on the reservation. Some Generation 3 participants and members of Generation 4 had never been to their reservation. Others had only been there once or twice, or had visited several times as a young person but had rarely been back as an adult. For some Generation 3s and 4s, going back to the reservation was seen as relatively unimportant, in contrast to others, who saw going back as an important part of cultural identity development.

Generation 2s exhibited more similarity of Indian experience within their generational group than did participants in Generations 3 and 4, and their experiences as Indian persons living in an urban area tended to have more similarity to those of Generation 1 than to those of Generations 3 and 4. For example, all participants in Generation 2, except those in one family, mentioned a great deal of family involvement with powwows during childhood, adolescence, and even their young adult years. Among participants in Generations 3 and 4, some had been very involved in powwows, whereas others had almost no exposure to this element of urban Indian culture.

Intergenerational Comparisons of the Structures and Styles of Cultural Identity

Although there were many similarities between Generations 1 and 2 related to the experiences expressed in the structures and styles of cultural identity, growing differences between Generations 2, 3, and 4 were identified. These same differences were even more pronounced when comparing Generation 1 to Generations 3 and 4, indicating a growing divergence of experience and changes in the conceptualization of Indian identity across

the span of two to three generations of urban residence. The most outstanding amongst these differences, as well as the similarities between generational groups, are identified in the sections below, which correspond to each of the structures and styles of cultural identity found in this study.

Features of Indian Identity (Structure)

Generation 1 participants, as well as most Generation 2 participants, possessed knowledge of the histories and cultural ways of their tribes. Both generational groups considered themselves to live by Indian values. Generation 1s may or may not have practiced tribal traditions; when they did not, it was often because they had not learned them while living on the reservation due to the influences of boarding school and/or the Christian Church. Generation 2s also may or may not have practiced their tribal traditions.

“Being Native is who I am” would characterize the cultural identity of both Generation 1s and Generation 2s, as would the belief that one’s Indian experiences and connections with family and other Indian people were the core elements of an Indian identity. For members of Generation 1, Indian identity was tied, in part, to memories and experiences the individual had had specifically in relation to his or her reservation or tribal community.

Generation 2 participants often expressed that it was necessary to adapt and incorporate some non-Indian ways into their lives in order to be successful in the urban environment, and Generation 1 participants often echoed that sentiment. Generation 3s and 4s, in contrast, were more likely to express that one must first reject outright dominant culture ways and then undertake a process of re-engaging with them on one’s

own terms.

Resisting assimilation was important to all generational groups and was expressed by Generation 1s and 2s through highly developed psychological processes. For Generation 1s, however, these processes arose prior to the individual's arrival in the city and were not aimed directly at maintaining one's cultural identity while living in an urban area. Among Generation 3s and 4s, resistance was expressed more in actions and attitudes that attempted to demonstrate that the individual had rejected dominant culture ways and values.

As stated above, Generation 2 participants had integrated Native values into their cultural identity and considered themselves to live by these values in their day-to-day lives. They might or might not practice tribal traditions, but they felt they did not have to in order to know they were Indian. In contrast, Generations 3 and 4 participants were seeking cultural knowledge, and most were in the process of learning or wanting to learn their tribal traditions. Members of this generational group were often attempting to re-embrace traditional values and practices, or they realized they must somehow do this as part of claiming an Indian identity.

Whereas "being Native is who I am" tended to characterize Generation 2 participants, Generation s 3 and 4 participants were likely to say they "felt good" or "felt proud" of being Indian and that having an Indian identity was something that made them unique or set them apart from non-Indians. Both generational groups expressed that Indian experiences and connections with Indian people were core elements of Native identity. Generation 2s had had these experiences and had connections with other Indians, whereas Generation 3s and 4s were working to find Indian experiences and connections

with other Indian people. In the case of Generation 3s and 4s, the difference seen may not be attributable simply to age or development, but may reflect a difficulty in connecting with other Indian people in the urban environment and fewer opportunities to engage in cultural activities that could lead to social relationships.

Urban Environment's Effects on Indian Identity (Structure)

Participants from Generations 1 and 2 had a stable core Indian identity that allowed them to transition smoothly between Indian and non-Indian settings. These participants engaged in balancing the world of the dominant culture with the reservation/traditional world, and they believed they could do so successfully in the urban environment. Both groups appeared to have acquired the ability to balance the demands of the dominant culture with the more traditional value systems they felt they lived by.

Participants in Generation 1 might still be seen to be engaged in balancing responsibilities in the city with responsibilities to family and community on the reservation/tribal community, and most continued to feel obliged to become involved when family members there were ill or suffered some misfortune. Generation 2s, for the most part, found themselves less tied to their parents' reservation community and might not have felt the same responsibility to become directly involved in issues affecting family living there as did their parents.

Generation 2s saw themselves, from a cultural identity perspective, as not much different from their reservation-based peers, whereas participants in Generation 1 might be likely to say they *were* like them due to having similar early experiences and a common background. Generations 3s and 4s were more likely to think there was a difference between themselves and their reservation-based peers and to lack perspectives

on what it felt like to be an Indian person living on a reservation or in a tribal community. Generation s 3 and 4 participants were unique amongst the generational groups, because they saw themselves as having identity choices prior generations did not have. In addition, they identified challenges to developing an American Indian identity while living in an urban area that they felt their parents and grandparents had not faced, leading most of them to believe that it was easier and more natural to have an Indian identity if one lived on the reservation.

*Types of Indian Identities (Structure) and
Ways of Identifying as Indian to Others (Style)*

All participants in Generation 1 identified themselves as American Indian, or simply Indian, and specifically as being from their respective tribes. They expressed feelings of general relatedness to other Indians, regardless of tribe, and this did not diminish their tribal-specific identity nor lead them toward a more pan-Indian type of identity. Amongst participants in Generation 1, maintaining tribal-specific identity while living in an urban area was not dependent upon being around other members of their tribes. Instead, identity represented a firmly ingrained sense of who the individual was, which had remained strong despite, as was the case for two Generation 1 participants, being the only members of their tribe (other than their own children) to have lived in Denver since they arrived more than 40 years ago.

Beginning with participants in Generation 2, a wide range of ways of identifying Native ethnicity began to emerge, as is discussed in Chapter 4 (pp. 141-152). Although some members of Generation 2 might have been embracing an urban-specific Indian

identity, participants in this generational group used the term “urban Indian” more as a way of situating themselves than as an expression of their cultural identity.

There were few differences between Generations 2, 3, and 4 in the ways participants identified their ethnicity, or Indianness, to others. Members in each group identified in the various ways discussed previously, for example, as having a tribal-specific or a shared Indian identity. However, individuals in Generations 3 and 4 appeared to be more likely to state that they believed an urban-specific Indian identity was emerging, and to embrace it as one of the various Indian identity choices they felt were available to them.

Development of Indian Identity (Structure) and Developing Indian Identity (Style),

Maintenance of Indian Identity (Structure) and Maintaining and

Strengthening Indian Identity (Style)

Generation 1 participants were likely to consider that Indian identity was automatically conferred through one’s relationships to ancestors and family members, and connections to the historical experiences of one’s tribe. In this sense, identity did not have to be developed nor maintained in any particular way. This generational group generally seemed to believe that a person did, however, come to understand the meaning of his or her identity as he or she matured—a sentiment that was echoed by most participants in Generation 2.

Generation 1s came to the city with a firmly established Indian identity that was not threatened nor diminished by living in an urban area. Many plainly stated, “Moving to Denver did not affect my identity.” They felt that *their* Indian identity was not tied to a physical location and that identity was maintained while living in an urban area by

memories of experiences, family, and important people from the reservation or tribal community. Generation 1s did, however, believe that their children and grandchildren were not in the same situation because of their urban status, and because of this, *might* have to do things they did not have to do in order to develop and maintain their cultural identity.

Generation 2 participants tended to see their Indianness as “just who we are and have always been.” Family provided a foundation for Indian identity, which then became an internalized core state of being, and as such, did not really need to be maintained. Most did not feel that they had to work hard at being Indian, but they had considered deeply what it meant to be Indian in relationship to their living in an urban area. Generations 2s did not share the concern of their parents that their own Indian identity might somehow be compromised by being born and growing up in an urban area. However, like their parents, they, too, were concerned that their children and grandchildren might not develop a strong Indian identity; and so, they often took steps to assist their children and grandchildren to do so.

Although they understood Indian identity to be an internal state, at the same time participants in Generations 3 and 4 felt they must also put conscious effort into developing and maintaining an American Indian identity, unlike their grandparents and great-grandparents. Many Generation 3s and 4s were also engaged in a conscious process of embracing culture and making it a part of their lives. They more often relied on “doing Indian things” to affirm their Indianness, whereas their grandparents and great-grandparents saw being Indian as resulting from an individual’s connection family, ancestors, and tribe.

Participants from Generations 3 and 4 relied to a greater extent on external affirmations of their Indianness and reported spending less time reflecting on being Indian or what it meant than those participants in Generation 2, who were engaged in internal processes that continually sought understanding of their identity and thereby also reaffirmed it in the process. Like participants in Generation 2, Generation 3s and 4s believed that family provided a foundation for Indian identity, learning about one's culture helped identity develop, and identity developed and matured over the course of an individual's lifetime.

Differences Between Urban and Reservation

People and Contexts (Structure)

Participants from both Generations 1 and 2 were nearly identical in the differences and similarities they saw between the reservation and urban settings, including the people who resided in each. Opinions in these two groups about the differences between the urban and reservation/tribal community contexts were based on actual lived experiences, although those of Generation 2 participants may have been formed from less extensive observation and obtained primarily while visiting during childhood and adolescence.

Both generational groups regarded their urban Indian peers as not that different from their counterparts on the reservation, although in an obvious contradiction, some participants in both groups looked at Indians who did not relocate to the city as being less motivated and more content with government dependency than those, like their family members, who had left the reservation for a new life in the city. Both groups also considered urban Indians to have a better work ethic, be harder working, and be more

adaptable than Indians living on their reservations. Generation 1 and 2 participants were also likely to believe strongly that urban Indians must think and act differently than their reservation-based peers in order to be successful in the city.

In contrast, Generations 3 and 4 participants tended to see bigger differences between themselves and their reservation-based peers, although their opinions in this area were likely to have been based on few actual encounters with their counterparts who lived on the reservation. Generation 3s and 4s were likely to deem that urban Indians thought and acted differently than their reservation-based peers, whereas participants in Generation 2 believed urban Indians *must* think and act differently than their reservation-based peers in order to live successfully in the urban setting.

Participants in Generation 2 seemed very aware of differences between the urban and reservation contexts and were able to provide detailed explanations of these differences as well as the differences between Indian and non-Indian ways. Generation 3s and 4s appeared less aware of differences between the urban and reservation contexts, but like their parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents, they were quite adept at distinguishing and verbalizing very nuanced differences between Indian and non-Indian ways of thinking and acting.

Participants in all generational groups agreed that substance abuse was a tremendous problem among Indian populations in both the urban and reservation contexts, and all study families were likely to have seen firsthand the devastation addiction could wreak in families and communities. Generation 2 participants, as well as those from Generations 3 and 4, discussed their understanding that historical issues, paternalism and forced government dependence, and tribes' current relationships with the

federal government were directly related to not only substance abuse, but also other social problems, such as unemployment and the poor health faced by reservations and tribal communities.

Phenotype and Blood Quantum (Structure)

Generation 1 participants believed that family membership was the strongest determinant of Indianness. If they had had to deal with issues related to an Indian person not being phenotypically Indian, this had not been of great concern to them if the individual could be connected to a particular family or tribal community. Generation 1 participants all considered their mixed blood children to be and to look Indian. They were, however, likely to acknowledge that their grandchildren or great-grandchildren who were of low blood quantum looked White, but then go on to point out the remaining Indian features they felt the children possessed.

The attitudes held by Generation 1 participants appeared to have been passed down, in good part, to participants in Generation 2, who also expressed little concern for issues of whether an individual was phenotypically Indian or not. Generations 2s typically considered that feeling one belongs amongst other Indians was more about family membership than about how much one thought he or she looked Indian or was considered by others to look Indian. This may have been more easily accomplished by participants in Generation 2 than those in Generations 3 and 4, because all Generation 2s possessed a phenotype that would be recognized as Indian by most other Indians (although perhaps not always by non-Indians).

Participants in Generations 3 and 4 embodied a wider range of phenotypes than Generation 2s and were more focused on the extent to which phenotype determined

whether others thought you were Indian and about how possessing an Indian phenotype made it easier to consider oneself Indian. Both Generation 2s and Generation 3s and 4s, however, considered that having Indian blood endowed an individual with certain characteristics or was responsible for certain feelings and behaviors commonly associated with being Native, such as being more spiritually attuned or having a greater tendency to abuse alcohol.

Fitting In (Structure)

As was the case in relation to other cultural identity structures, participants from both Generation 1 and Generation 2 were much alike in their feelings about fitting in with other Indians, non-Indians, and the dominant culture. All participants in both generational groups felt at ease with other Indians and as if they fit in socially with them. Some preferred to be with other Indians, describing these interactions as “natural” or “comfortable.” Both Generation 1s and 2s admitted to feeling that they did not fit in with White people or in the dominant culture because of differences in values, worldview, and lifestyle. However, this was not particularly troublesome to Generation 1 participants; they seemed to have been resolved most discomfort through a cognitive process that involved identifying the positive aspects of Indian culture and lifestyle and contrasting them with the less positive characteristics of non-Indian culture.

Generations 2s often considered themselves to be situated in a middle place between the dominant culture, as exemplified by the urban milieu, and their tribal culture, as exemplified by the reservation setting. Again, not fitting in in White society was not particularly troubling; however, and Generation 2 participants seemed to have resolved

any issues with this through repeated cognitive processing similar to that engaged in by Generation 1s.

Feeling they did not fit in well with other Indians was a prominent concern to a number of Generations 3 and 4 participants, who often were also engaged in learning how to interact with other Indians—and especially those living on the reservation—in a way that was in alignment with cultural norms and practices. Most members of this generational group also possessed a strong awareness that at a very fundamental level, they did not fit in or were separate from White society, because they were American Indian, although some could be considered to be moving, to a degree, in the direction of integrating their Indianness into the mix of ethnic diversity found in large urban areas. Participants in this generational group also had a heightened awareness that they stood out because of their ethnicity, and they made emotional and behavioral efforts not to do so. As a group, they could be said to embody a contradiction: On one level, they wanted others to know they were unique because they were American Indian, whereas on another level, they did not want others to make them feel different because they were Indian.

Non-Indians and Identity (Structure)

All generational groups identified that non-Indians lacked knowledge of Indians, and this was treated by most participants as expected and normal, although quite bothersome. Participants in both Generations 1 and 2 related many experiences of educating non-Indians about Indians and Indian ways, and to an extent, this had become yet another part of their day-to-day experience of being American Indian.

Non-Indians' lack of knowledge seemed to be of more concern to Generation 3s and 4s. This generational group expressed discomfort with being put into the role of the

Indian expert or having to educate non-Indians about Indian life, whereas members of Generation 2 did not mention this discomfort and most appeared to feel quite comfortable helping non-Indians learn about American Indian culture.

Identity in Biracial and Multiracial Indians (Structure)

Being a Biracial Indian (Style)

Only one participant in Generation 1 was biracial. His mother was White and his father, Indian; and he had grandparents that were also mixed blooded, so, as he termed it, “I am Indian but am more White than Indian.” Unlike his experiences of growing up on his reservation where his mixed bloodedness made him distinct, he recalled experiencing few problems with it in the city. As one of the first Relocates to Denver, he became involved in early efforts to establish an Indian community; and he related that because of his life experiences as an Indian person, he was never seen as less Indian than anyone else. All other Generation 1 participants were full blooded.

All participants in Generation 2 were mixed blooded, although one was more than one-half Indian blood. Their parents, participants in Generation 1, however, considered them to be only Indian, rather than mixed blooded. Individuals in Generation 2 were likely to initially identify their ethnicity as solely American Indian and, much later in the interview, to disclose that they were mixed blooded. Individuals in Generation 2 also appeared to see identifying as American Indian to be their only option when considering what their ethnic identity was, although they might identify their children and grandchildren as being of mixed ancestry. Interestingly, this was somewhat different from some Generation 1s, who would identify the ethnicity of their grandchildren and great-grandchildren as “having a non-Indian parent” or as “White, but still Indian”.

Participants in Generations 3 and 4 considered themselves to have choices available when it came to their ethnic identity. Generations 3 and 4 participants were all of mixed ancestry and were likely to mention being biracial when initially asked how they described themselves as an Indian person. They often believed that their mixed bloodedness gave them a range of cultural identity choices. Unlike participants in Generation 2, who appeared to see identifying as American Indian to be their only option, those in Generations 3 and 4 appeared to (a) view biracialness as natural, (b) see identifying as a biracial Indian an option, (c) have *chosen* to identify as American Indian instead of with their other ethnic group, and (d) be relatively comfortable managing multiple ethnic identities.

Ethnic Misidentification (Structure)

Generation 1s made little mention of ethnic misidentification (being considered by another person to be of an ethnic group other than American Indian), whereas Generation 2s, 3s, and 4s reported a great deal, even among those individuals who were phenotypically Indian. Participants in Generation 1 may have found ethnic misidentification to be less of an issue, because not only were most of these participants phenotypically Indian, but also they were not impacted by misidentification to any important degree, because they so strongly knew they were Indian.

In contrast, the mixed-blooded status of Generation 2s, 3s, and 4s not only made them phenotypically more diverse, but also may have created some sense of identity ambivalence or left them vulnerable to contentions by others that they were somehow less Indian than a full blooded or higher blood quantum person. Thus, in these

individuals, ethnic misidentification was often perceived as causing them difficulties and to be problematic to deal with.

Discrimination, Racism, and Stereotypes (Structure)

Although participants in Generation 1 made distinct references to experiences of racism and discrimination while living on their reservations or in their tribal communities, they made little mention of these kinds of experiences happening to them in Denver. When asked specifically about this, one Generation 1 participant responded,

White people in Denver didn't have the same racist attitudes and beliefs about Indians as they did in South Dakota. During the time of Relocation, the White people in Denver were just beginning to learn about and deal with Indians. They weren't already used to treating Indians bad the way a lot of people in South Dakota were.

The lack of prior experience with Indians on the part of Whites in Denver, she believed, made it easier for Indian workers, because they were usually the only Indians in the work place, and bosses and co-workers saw them as unique and did not hold many of the stereotypes about Indians that non-Indians living near reservations held.

Generations 2s expressed being very aware of discrimination based on non-Indians' beliefs and stereotypes about reservation-based Indians, and some expressed concern that these stereotypes would be improperly applied to them. Participants in both Generations 1 and 2 expressed beliefs about reservation-based Indians (e.g., that they lacked ambition, took advantage of government handouts, or were lazy and had a poor work ethic) that were similar to stereotypes many Indians might typically consider some non-Indians to hold about them.

Generation 3s and 4s reported having experienced discrimination due more to their misidentification as a member of another ethnic minority group than because they

were American Indian. They, too, expressed some of the same negative beliefs about reservation-based Indians as did the two prior generational groups.

Assimilation (Structure)

Generation 1 participants attended boarding schools and lived through an historical era during which assimilation into the dominant culture was an active government policy; the manifestations of this policy had personally touched each one. Thus, as a group, they tended to see that all Indians had been affected by assimilation, regardless of where they lived, just by being part of modern society. Despite this, Generation 1s did not seem to worry much about being assimilated, themselves, and they tended to see their children as having resisted assimilation to the degree possible, given that they grew up in an urban area.

Generation 2s had felt what one participant termed “the pull of assimilation” as a constant in their lives. Members of this generational group, similar to Generation 1s, also felt that most Indians were assimilated to some degree. Whereby most Generation 2s considered themselves less assimilated than many other Indians in the city, they even considered themselves less assimilated than many of those they knew who lived on reservations. A good number of Generations 2s expressed the attitude, “I’m not assimilated, but a lot of other Indians are.” Most were also able to easily point out other urban Indian peers whom they felt had assimilated on purpose. Generations 2s believed that it was possible to combat the assimilative pull by engaging in psychological and political resistance and by retaining traditional ways. Many in Generations 3 and 4 also expressed that assimilation was something that one must actively resist.

Participants in Generation 2 articulated the idea that it is not possible to be like those in the dominant culture and still be Indian. An individual has to do some of the things they do, but psychologically, an urban Indian person must fight becoming like them. In contrast, many participants in Generations 3 and 4 felt that embracing aspects of the dominant culture and engaging with that culture did not automatically lead to assimilation, if one maintained an attitude of resistance, remembered he or she was Indian, and practiced cultural ways. An attitude expressed within this generational group could be characterized as, “I can be outwardly like members of the dominant culture in many of the things I do, but that doesn’t mean I’m assimilated or think like them.” The psychological resistance that those in Generation 2 had to develop appeared to have been passed down to Generations 3 and 4, where it had been internalized and reconciled with the need to interact within the dominant culture.

Behaving Indian (Style)

Two important ways of behaving Indian, which were often expressed by participants in all generational groups, were maintaining connections with relatives still living on the reservation and having social interactions with other Indians in the urban environment. Most participants in Generation 1 had stayed very connected to both their family members who remained on the reservation, as well as to their children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren living in the city. These relationships were a fundamental part of who they were as Indian persons.

Likewise, Generation 2 participants had also stayed very connected to their parents as well as their children and grandchildren. Generation 3s and 4s appeared to be very connected to their parents (Generation 2) and/or siblings, but often expressed a less

strong connection to Generation 1, and even more so, weakened connections to those in younger generations.

Although participants in Generation 2 may not have been as connected to relatives living on the reservation or in their tribal communities as were their parents, these types of relationships with extended family members appeared to be quite important to their cultural identity. Knowing these relatives, however, became more difficult and somewhat less important for many participants in Generations 3 and 4. These individuals mentioned fewer connections to family members still living on reservation; some Generations 3 and 4 participants had very few relatives on the reservation with whom they still had contact.

Participants in both Generations 1 and 2 deemed that social relationships with other Indians were vital to their Indian identity. Many times, the relationships Generation 2s had with other Indians in the urban area were extensions of the relationships their parents developed upon arriving in Denver; for example, they may have had close relationships with the sons, daughters, or other relatives of their parents' friends. Similar to prior generational groups, participants in Generations 3 and 4 continued to believe that social relationships with other Indians were critically important to developing and maintaining their identity; but many related that they had fewer of these relationships and found it difficult to maintain a network of social relationships with other Indians, something that most Generation 2s had done rather easily. It may have been difficult for Generation 3s and 4s to connect with other Indians in the urban environment; some Generations 3 and 4 participants reported that they knew few Indians other than family members. They may also have been intentionally engaged in a process of seeking out and having Indian experiences.

Thinking and Feeling Indian (Style)

Participants in Generation 1 had an intense emotional connection to being Indian—it was who they were and how they thought. Generation 1s appeared not to have to reinforce that they thought and felt Indian; they appeared to be comfortable with their Indianness and as if it was well integrated into their self schemas. Some Generation 2s, on the other hand, spent a great deal of time reinforcing through internal affirmations that they were Indian and that they thought and felt as an Indian person did. They, too, had the same intensely emotional sense of being Indian as did their parents. But, they were also aware that they might, at different times, have to think either like an Indian or more like a member of the dominant culture.

The emotional connection of Generation 3s and 4s to being Indian was tangibly different than that of Generation 1s and 2s. A Generation 2 participant was apt to express that, “being Indian *is* who I am,” whereas a Generation 3 or 4 participant might have expressed that, “being Indian *is a part of* who I am.” Both the Generation 2 participants and members of the younger generational groups stated, however, that being able to identify with other Indians was an important part of Indian identity.

Being Bicultural (Style)

Prior to relocating to Denver, experiences in boarding schools, on jobs in reservation border towns, in the military, and through interactions with non-Indians living on or near their reservations or tribal communities socialized Generation 1 participants to the expectations of the urban setting. Most Generation 1 participants arrived in Denver already having achieved a high degree of biculturality, and they did not consider themselves unprepared for living outside their reservation or tribal community.

Participants in this generational group considered being able to adapt to city ways and being flexible in their interactions with the dominant culture to be necessary to live successfully in an urban area.

Generation 1s passed on to their children—Generation 2 participants—the importance of biculturality. Members of this older generational group internalized the message that being able to function in both Indian culture and the dominant culture was something they must strive for. Generation 2s, like their parents, grew up having to negotiate both mainstream culture and Indian culture, although from different contextual standpoints. Living as an Indian person in an urban area required Generation 2s to master the social norms of both cultures and understand the different behavioral expectations of each. Generation 2s considered being bicultural a necessary skill that had to be developed, and they often discussed its achievement in terms of having found a “balance” between Indian and mainstream worlds.

In contrast, biculturality came across as ingrained or integrated in most Generations 3 and 4 participants. These participants appeared, for the most part, to have found and internalized the balance between Indian and mainstream culture that the prior generational group had striven for, and being bicultural often seemed to be taken for granted by these Generation 3s and 4s.

Others Generation 3s and 4s, though, might have been characterized as struggling much more than prior generations, but in an opposite way: These Generation 3s and 4s were attempting to achieve a balance by bringing in more elements of Indian culture to offset a predominance of dominant culture socialization. Although many individuals in Generations 3 and 4 still expressed that living in urban area required that one successfully

negotiate both cultures and that knowing how to act in both cultures continued to be a necessary skill for urban Indians, they appeared most concerned with learning how to act in Indian culture.

Living in an Indian Space in the City (Style)

Generation 1s who created an Indian space in the city may have done so as a way to re-create the social relationships and the feelings associated with these relationships that they had previously experienced in their tribal community or in the early Denver Indian community. Participants in Generations 2, 3, and 4 were more likely to create an Indian space in the city as a place where they could practice or enact their identity, and where they could go to be Indian without facing the demands and influences of the dominant culture.

Intergenerational Analysis of Cultural Connectedness

Generational Characteristics of Cultural Connectedness

Generation 1

Participants in Generation 1 brought with them to the city a lifetime of relationships and social interactions with family and other Indian people, and their sense of cultural connectedness resulted from these relationships and interactions. Upon arriving in the city, these individuals, for the most part, quickly sought out other American Indians and developed relationships with them that, in many cases, have endured for 40 to 50 years. Generation 1s also began, shortly after coming to the city, to engage in community building and forming urban Indian organizations, as a way to both connect to other Indian people as well as facilitate those connections for new arrivals.

Generation 1 participants grew up in tribal cultures, based on complex networks of social and familial relatedness, and they had deeply internalized behavioral expectations that allowed them to relate socially in accordance with traditional tribal norms. Generation 1s developed relationships with other Indians in the urban environment using the same social skills and norms they would have used had they remained on their reservations or in their tribal communities. In addition, these participants connected to other Indians and formed friendships across tribal affiliations—for many, something new or that they had not often done while living in their tribal communities.

Generation 2

During the lives of Generation 2 participants, what brings about cultural connectedness and how it is expressed appeared to be in a state of transition. The idea that an individual must intentionally and consciously create his or her cultural connectedness took hold as cultural connectedness began to move away from the strictly relational foundation it had for participants in Generation 1. Mixed bloodedness also became an issue related to cultural connectedness for some Generation 2 participants, with those with more White phenotypes often feeling both pressure to prove connectedness and the sense that their phenotype might prevent that connectedness.

Generation 2s lived most of their lives hearing the messages that Indian life in an urban area was difficult and filled with struggle and that connection to culture was at risk when one lived away from his or her tribal community. Whereas this may not have been participants' actual experience of urban life, they began to internalize that they must do something to sustain their connection to Indian culture or else risk losing it. Although

most members of this generational group had a strong internal sense of cultural connectedness, they also began to feel, during their teenage or young adult years, increasing pressure to demonstrate that connectedness to other Indians. They did this by participating in cultural activities, such as the sweat lodge or other forms of traditional spirituality, by internalizing cultural values and behaving in ways consistent with those values, and by expressing their knowledge of tribal and family history and traditional practices.

Generation 2s also saw the rise of Indian activism during their teenage and young adult years. They represented a generation that lived through and was expected to contribute to the cultural revival and revitalization, which started in the 1960s and has continued to the present. Participants in this generational group began, as teenagers or young adults, to reject dominant culture values, practices, and institutions as way of demonstrating cultural connectedness. Generation 2s were also part of an Indian world that was moving toward an increasing level of social and political interaction that was intertribal in nature.

Although cultural identity may not have changed greatly between Generations 1 and 2, in Generation 2, an exponential change in how cultural connectedness was thought to occur began to take shape. Generation 2s saw cultural connectedness as stemming from more than just the relationships and interactions with other Indians that their parents had perceived. For Generation 2s, connectedness resulted, instead, from a combination of the factors that are seen reflected in the structures and styles of cultural connectedness identified in this study. Generation 2s saw themselves and other Indians as achieving cultural connectedness through varying degrees of engagement with each of these factors.

There was also a sense amongst this generational group that the loss of cultural connectedness, which is believed to occur because of urban living, can be stemmed to some degree by doing “Indian things.” Among participants in this generational group, there was a strong sense that they were trying to discover the optimal kinds and amounts of cultural activities needed to create and maintain cultural connectedness. At times, this quest created a sense that cultural connectedness in members of Generation 2 was unsettling and/or confusing, as participants strove to find and do the right things to counter the message that their connectedness was at risk.

Generations 3 and 4

For Generation 3s and 4s, because of shifting and expanding requirements, cultural connectedness became a much more complex process to negotiate than it was for Generation 2s. Generation 3s and 4s appeared to have fully internalized the messages Generation 2 participants had received about the threat of cultural loss and their responsibility to maintain and pass on culture. The belief that Indians become culturally disconnected if they live in the city and that connecting with other Indians in the urban environment is quite difficult had come to have tremendous strength in this generation; for Generation 3s and 4s, cultural disconnection posed a continual threat. In addition, these younger generational groups had received a message that one must do many things to maintain cultural connectedness when living in the city. These individuals projected strongly the sense that an urban Indian person had to actively work very hard at staying culturally connected.

In order to assess their cultural connectedness, Generation 3s and 4s looked back to traditions and to whether they had knowledge of or involvement in those traditions.

They also looked back at the cultural involvement of Generations 1 and 2 for models of how to be connected. At the same time, many were also looking for current opportunities to take part in cultural activities in the urban setting as a way to feel connected to Native culture.

Feeling the pressure to demonstrate connectedness continued in this generational group, but it took a slightly different tone than it did in Generation 2. Demonstrating connectedness seemed more natural, spontaneous, and integrated into the behaviors of Generations 3 and 4 participants than it did for Generation 2 participants, among whom there was a sense that demonstrating connectedness was required and intentional. The ways of demonstrating cultural connectedness for Generation 3s and 4s also appeared to have moved beyond Generation 1s' having social and familial relationships and interactions with other Indians. For Generations 3 and 4 participants, demonstrating connectedness was now not only about having relationships and interactions with other Indians, but also included showing active involvement in Indian culture by knowing about and practicing cultural ways.

The cultural connectedness of Generation 3s and 4s represented, in one sense, an outcome of the cultural revival begun during the young adulthood of their parents and grandparents—the Generation 2 participants. Generation 3s and 4s appeared to be faced with tremendous internal pressure to know about and be involved with Indian culture. In order to feel that they could claim they were culturally connected, most members of this generational group believed they must meet standards that were very rigorous compared to those of Generations 1 and 2.

Being a cultural representative and agent of cultural transmission in order to counter the continually looming threat of cultural loss was a task related to cultural connectedness that fell on many Generation 3s and 4s. In fact, some Generations 3 and 4 participants carried the pressure of believing that in their families, connection to Indian culture might end with them. This pressure was also increased by broader societal changes that have made it more difficult for people, regardless of cultural group, to be relational with one another, and by the growing multitude of choices available in lifestyle, identity, activities, attitudes, and behaviors. Many participants in Generations 3 and 4 saw themselves as having not only to meet very difficult standards in order to claim they were culturally connected, but also to meet these standards while living in a context that did not easily recognize, honor, or support Native cultural involvement and connectedness.

Increasing differences between individuals as to degree of their cultural connectedness and desire for that connectedness could be identified in Generations 3 and 4. However, most of the participants in Generation 3 continued to feel culturally connected, despite understanding that achieving this connection was more difficult for them than for members of prior generations. Generation 2s and 3s were aware that the Generation 4 members of their families might have little remaining cultural connectedness. Generation 3s felt that they had to do things to keep Generation 4s connected, emphasizing participation in cultural activities and programs—what one participant referred to as “bringing your children and grandchildren into the culture.” It appeared that amongst Generation 3s, the relational aspects of participation in cultural activities and “doing cultural things” was either taken for granted or had less importance,

in contrast to Generation 1s, whose participation was expressly intended to provide them with social interactions with other Indian people.

Intergenerational Comparisons of the Structures and Styles of Cultural Connectedness

The following section highlights similarities and differences between the three generational groups for each of the cultural connectedness structures and styles identified in this study. This intergenerational comparison indicates that what constitutes cultural connectedness and how it is achieved has been changing for the three generations of family members that have followed the Generation 1 participants. In addition, the analysis points to cultural connectedness for later generational groups as being a process that is complex, multifaceted, and where generational differences between these groups and Generation 1 can be more clearly seen to have been impacted both by urbanization and overall societal changes.

Connections With Other American Indians (Structure) and Relating and Interacting With Other American Indians (Style)

The attitudes and behaviors of participants in Generation 1 in regard to cultural connectedness can be summed up by the statement, “Relationships with other Indians are an individual’s primary connection to Indian culture.” For Generation 1s, connection to culture came through other Indian people. Being with other Indians created a sense of belongingness and allowed an individual to express cultural values and aspects related to ways of being Indian that are reflected in the cultural connectedness structures and styles identified in this study.

Memories of significant relationships and friendships during the years spent in one's tribal community created a sense of cultural connectedness in participants from Generation 1. Despite their urban residence, these participants could be considered to be culturally connected in the same way as their reservation-based peers—through relationships with other Indian people. In fact, one defining characteristic of most members of this generation was their ability to maintain strong ties to people on their reservations/tribal communities for many years after arrival (in the city?).

Cultural connectedness for individuals in Generation 1 was not context dependent—it could happen as easily in the city as it could on the reservation/tribal community when one had social relationships with other Indians. As such, remaining culturally connected appeared to be of little concern to Generation 1s. Likewise, in Generation 2, most individuals, even those with little contact with their reservation or tribal community, continued to be highly relational with other Indians in much the same way as were their parents. Generation 2s continued to be characterized by the belief that relationships and experiences with other Indians created a feeling of cultural connectedness and that associating with other Indians was critical to this connectedness.

Generation 2s, unlike their parents, had to manage two different kinds of relationships and interactions with other Indians. They attempted to maintain connections with extended family members and others in their family's tribal community, while also developing new relationships with other Indians in the urban setting. Indian friendships of long duration, which were first developed in adolescence or young adulthood, characterized the social relationships of many members of this generational group.

Most Generation 2 participants believed it was easier to connect with other Indians than with non-Indians, because Indians shared common values, worldviews, and ways of being together. However, in this generational group, some participants also reported that they grew up having had few social interactions with Indians who were not family members; these types of relationships were not developed until adulthood, something unheard of amongst Generation 1 participants. There was growing acceptance that cultural connectedness is adversely affected by urban residence as well as a rising concern for maintaining that connectedness expressed among Generation 2 participants.

Interacting with other Indians continued to be an important aspect of cultural connectedness for participants in Generations 3 and 4, although it appeared to be somewhat less fundamental than for Generations 1 and 2. This may be attributable to the growing belief that one “does cultural things” to be culturally connected. There were an increasing number of individuals in this younger generational group who had had few or even no opportunities to interact with other Indians while growing up. Again, as in Generation 2, these opportunities sometimes developed as individuals moved into adulthood, although not for all Generations 3 and 4 participants. Participants in Generations 3 and 4 were likely to have had few contacts with reservation-based peers.

During the young adult years of most Generation 2s, efforts at cultural revival, revitalization, and tribal sovereignty were moving to the forefront in Indian communities. The political movements supporting these efforts appeared to impart to this generational group the message that cultural connectedness was maintained by “doing cultural things,” such as embracing cultural values, learning one’s language, practicing tribal traditions and traditional spirituality, and being involved in community building and political

activism. It was common to see Generation 2 participants situated within a contradiction in regard to their cultural connectedness—stating that connectedness comes through relationships with other Indians and at the same time feeling the need to engage in activities in order to be connected.

Being with other Indians continued to create a sense of cultural connectedness for Generation 3s and 4s. In this generational group, however, the motive for socializing with other Indians appeared to be shifting toward being intentionally for the purpose of involvement in cultural activities. Seemingly, the more casual and friendship-oriented social interactions of Generations 1 and 2 were being replaced in Generations 3 and 4 with interactions that, in part, were purposefully aimed at engaging in activities for the purpose of achieving and demonstrating cultural connectedness. This, too, reflected the growing realization in this generational group that it was getting harder and harder for some urban Indians to find and sustain relationships with other Indians. Although this generational group showed an increase in cross-cultural interactions as compared to prior generational groups, they continued to report that they preferred being with other Indians and found that their interactions and friendships with other Indians were their most comfortable and fulfilling ones.

Reservation/Tribal Community (Structure) and

Going Back to the Reservation (Style)

Participants in Generation 1 came to the city with strong connections to their reservations and tribal communities. Most continued to travel back to their tribal communities, accompanied by their children, quite frequently for many years after arriving in the city. They also brought family members to the city and many times made

connections with others from their tribal communities who had also relocated. The connections Generations 1s maintained with their tribal communities, however, could be seen to diminish somewhat in importance as new relationships were developed with other urban Indians.

Among Generations 1s, the reservation or tribal community from which they came had less influence on cultural connectedness than did social and familial relationships. Amongst Generation 2 participants, however, the reservation began to stand as symbol of cultural connectedness and to take on importance in conveying that connectedness. Most Generation 2s communicated the message that culture stems from the reservation and that an individual must maintain ties to the reservation in order to be culturally connected. There was an apparent acceptance of the belief that those on the reservation are automatically connected to their culture and that urban American Indians must work at being culturally connected. Although among this generational group there were, for the first time, individuals who had never been to their reservation, being able to visit or live for a short time on one's reservation/tribal community was considered to impart a large degree of cultural connectedness.

Generation 2s were attempting to maintain connections to family and others on the reservation, as was discussed previously. Being able to maintain connections with at least a small number of these relatives was seen to create cultural connectedness, and this connectedness was often demonstrated by having the ability to name these relatives and their kinship relationships to themselves. A feeling of connection to reservation-based peers remained for many Generation 2s, although they also expressed a growing feeling

that they were less culturally connected than these peers because of living in an urban area.

Generation 3s and 4s continued to see the reservation as fundamental to cultural connectedness; it was often referred to as “home,” even though the individual had never been there. The belief that cultural connectedness happens automatically on the reservation and is hard to achieve in the city had strengthened and become firmly rooted in the minds of many Generation 3s and 4s. The “reservation” and “Indian culture” began to be seen as synonymous by this generational group, because the reservation was considered to afford almost continual opportunities to engage in the cultural activities that this group considered to lead to cultural connectedness. At its extreme, some Generations 3 and 4 participants believed that Indian culture did not exist in the urban environment and that they could only engage with Indian culture if they were physically on their reservation.

It appeared that Generation 3s and 4s’ sense of connection to the reservation had begun to change, compared with that of Generation 2, because Generations 3 and 4 participants were beginning to have less contact with both the physical space and the people there. “Connection with the reservation” seemed to have lost much of the relational foundation it possessed in Generations 1 and 2 and instead had become, for Generation 3s and 4s, more like a requirement on a list of things one must possess in order to be considered culturally connected.

Cultural Traditions and Values (Structure) and

Practicing Cultural Traditions and Demonstrating Cultural Values (Style)

Participants in Generation 1 had learned to relate and interact with others through a tribal-specific cultural value system they referred to as “Indian.” Internalization of those traditional cultural values guided these participants in how to be relational in a culturally congruent way. For this generational group, acting in alignment with cultural values created cultural connectedness, because these values were often guides to how to treat or interact with other people.

Participants in Generation 1 may or may not have known their tribal language, and about traditional spirituality and other traditional practices. They were, however, open to traditional beliefs and considered this to show their connectedness to their cultures. In contrast, during the lives of Generation 2 participants, a conviction arose that holding onto cultural traditions or learning and regaining traditions lost through earlier assimilative processes could create cultural connectedness.

Connecting to Indian culture through traditions became especially important for individuals in Generation 2. At the same time, Generation 2s considered it difficult to live out and practice one’s culture in an urban area. Knowing and practicing tribal traditions, especially traditional spirituality, became important to both feeling and demonstrating cultural connectedness. In cases where Generation 2 participants were from tribes that had lost most of their traditions, knowing and practicing the traditions of another tribe demonstrated cultural connectedness for these individuals.

Generation 2s had also received the message that embracing and internalizing cultural values and living in alignment with them would reestablish and strengthen

cultural connectedness. Knowing and practicing cultural values and traditions was added to relationships with other Indian people to form the foundation of cultural connectedness for this generational group. Generation 2s appeared to hold that if one has a strong foundation of cultural values and knowledge of traditions, one can embrace parts of the dominant culture and interact with it without losing one's culture. In addition, strong cultural connectedness was thought to allow an individual to transition back and forth between Indian culture and the dominant culture with few problems. Rejecting dominant culture values, lifestyles, and institutions, such as the Christian Church, became a way for some Generation 2 participants to demonstrate cultural connectedness.

Participants in Generations 3 and 4 continued to hold the belief that rejecting the dominant culture and its values was important for cultural connectedness. They, too, considered the internalization of cultural values and expressing them in their actions to create connectedness. And, these participants strongly believed that practicing cultural traditions imparted connectedness. In fact, the degree to which an individual had engaged with aspects of Indian cultural that would be considered traditional became an important measure of an individual's connection to his or her culture for Generation 3s and 4s. The practice of traditional spirituality appeared to surpass language fluency in importance for imparting a feeling of cultural connectedness amongst participants in this generational group.

Despite this focus on involvement in traditional ways as essential to cultural connectedness, individuals in this generational group agreed that it was difficult to participate in traditional spirituality in the city, and in some cases, there were no

opportunities to do so. Involvement in tribal-specific traditions and practices was also seen by Generation 3s and 4s to be very difficult to do in the urban environment.

*Family (Structure) and
Being Part of an Indian Family (Style)*

Connectedness to Indian culture came through family, to a large degree, for study participants in all three generational groups. In Generation 1, however, familial relationships *created* cultural connectedness, and extended family members still living on the reservation/tribal community were important additional links to culture. Generation 1 participants also considered culture to be transmitted to their children and grandchildren through family relationships and interactions with extended family members. Upon their arrival in the city, Generation 1s often recreated family structures and living arrangements that were similar to those in which they had lived on the reservation. Generation 1s were also likely to practice traditions related to family roles and responsibilities; raising grandchildren and other relatives' children was one way this was expressed.

Family continued to be the primary means of cultural connectedness for Generation 2s. Knowing relatives on the reservation provided a strong sense of connectedness as did participants' relationships to ancestors and other relatives that had passed away. Without family members on the reservation to whom a Generation 2 participant could point out a relationship, it became difficult for individuals in this generational group to contend that they remained culturally connected.

Individuals in Generations 3 and 4 also felt a sense of cultural connectedness through the past struggles and hardships of ancestors and their own relationships to these

people. Generation 3s and 4s found themselves becoming more removed from extended family on the reservation and their remaining relationships more tenuous. In a number of individuals in this generational group, this distancing created a sense of cultural loss and disconnection. Traditional or customary adoptions were mentioned by individuals in Generations 3 and 4 as a form of relational cultural connectedness, and these adoptive relationships appeared, in some cases, to be replacing lost familial and kinship relationships.

Cultural connectedness remained associated with one's family and Indian heritage for those in Generations 3 and 4. However, it appeared to carry less weight than it did in the prior generation, and it had lost the fundamental nature it had for Generation 1 participants. Family connections, instead, appeared to have become one of a number of factors that together imparted cultural connectedness for Generation 3s and 4s. For some individuals in this generational group, just being from an Indian family seemed no longer to be enough to feel culturally connected, although being part of a family whose kinship systems and style of familial interacting were different from those of non-Indian families could still contribute to a sense of cultural connectedness.

Beginning in Generation 2 and continuing in Generations 3 and 4, some participants identified that their families now had members with differing levels of cultural connectedness. These study participants felt that they could assess the cultural connectedness of other family members based upon the things these individuals did to demonstrate that connectedness.

Loss or Retention of Culture (Structure)

Participants in Generation 1 maintained strong relationships with other urban Indians, family members, and their tribal communities as a way of avoiding disconnection from their culture. They did not appear to be directly concerned about cultural loss in themselves and their children, but they were aware that it was happening in other urban Indian families. They were, however, cognizant that their grandchildren and great-grandchildren had already lost, or were in danger of losing, their connections to Indian culture.

In contrast, individuals in Generation 2 could be characterized by the belief that their own abilities to be culturally connected had already been affected by assimilationist policies and practices occurring even prior to their parents' moves to the city. This generational group was likely to hold the attitude that resistance to additional assimilation demonstrated ongoing cultural connectedness. As they did regarding their cultural identity, most Generation 2s considered themselves to still be culturally connected, but they were aware that something had to be done to keep their children and grandchildren from losing connectedness.

Participants from Generations 3 and 4 had experienced that living in an urban area posed a very real threat of cultural loss and disconnection. Individuals in this generational group made intentional efforts to connect themselves and their children to Indian culture. By Generation 4, members of some study families had little, if any, involvement with Indian culture and knowledge of their tribes, family, and other cultural elements.

*Urban Context (Structure) and
Negotiating the Urban Environment (Style)*

Participants in Generation 1 expressed and maintained their cultural connectedness by constructing an urban Indian community that was built upon a foundation of intertribal social relationships. They negotiated the urban environment through involvement in this emerging community. Christian churches with Indian congregations, especially specific Episcopal and Catholic churches that Generation 1 participants attended, served to bring newly arrived Indian families together with one another in the critical social interactions that have been discussed previously. These churches also re-created many of the social and community relationships that Relocates had experienced on their reservations/tribal communities and provided a sense of continuity in cultural connectedness between city and tribal community.

Community building by early Relocates also resulted in the formation of the original Denver Indian Center. The Indian Center became an example of an Indian space in the city where urban Indians, such as those in Generation 1 and their family members, could find other Indian people with whom they felt they fit it and with whom they could interact in a relaxed and comfortable way. Other Indian organizations and programs followed in the 1970s and provided additional opportunities for Indian community involvement and connections with other Indians.

For Generation 2 participants, a generation later, the urban context had become relevant to cultural connectedness, because it became situated in opposition to that of the reservation/tribal community. Generation 2s heard a societal message that said cultural expression, cultural identity, and culture connectedness were negatively impacted by

urban living. Generations 2s appeared to have internalized this message, because they expressed that throughout their lives, they had had to do things differently than their parents did to maintain cultural connectedness—and this is because they have lived their lives in the city.

Participants from Generation 2 no longer saw themselves, nor did they feel they were seen by others (both Indians and non-Indians), as culturally connected in the same way as their reservation-based peers—simply through heritage, family relationships, and interactions with other Indians people. There was a growing sense among participants in this generational group that it might be difficult to maintain cultural connectedness in the city, even though they still exhibited a focus on relational connectedness similar to that of Generation 1s. Generation 2s felt strongly that they had to *do* something to maintain cultural connectedness; yet many times, they appeared somewhat confused or unfocused about how or what to do and could be seen to have tried many of the things discussed in this chapter in an attempt to see what might work best.

Generation 3s and 4s picked up and continued to live out the message of the previous generation—that they must do activities to maintain cultural connectedness. Although they saw fewer opportunities to engage in the types of cultural activities that were believed to lead to cultural connectedness, a number of Generations 3 and 4 participants had been involved extensively in various urban Indian programs whose intentions were to connect young people to one another and to expressions of culture, such as powwows, crafts, and learning history and traditional values and practices.

Despite this involvement, participants in Generations 3 and 4 were likely to hold the attitude that when an Indian person lives in an urban area, he or she can take his or

her cultural connectedness only so far, but never as far as it could be taken if living on the reservation. Although individuals in Generations 3 and 4 stated it was important to cultural connectedness that one had contacts with other Indian people, they appeared to consider doing cultural things as equally important to that connectedness. “Participating in cultural activities” now stood alongside Generation 1’s “being with other Indians” as the foundation of cultural connectedness.

An increase in the number of cross-cultural interactions and friendships was also seen among Generations 3 and 4 participants. Most of these individuals expressed the attitude that if one has a high level of involvement in cultural activities and maintains a strong cultural value system, an urban Indian person can interact with the dominant culture and be successful according to the standards of that culture and still retain a good deal of Native cultural connectedness. Although this attitude might appear to be somewhat of a contradiction to their belief that it is difficult to maintain cultural connectedness in the city, it is consistent with Generation 3s and 4s’ biculturality, as is discussed Chapter 4 (pp. 175-178).

*Knowledge of Culture (Structure) and Learning About Tribal
Culture, History, and Current Events (Style)*

Participants in Generation 1 came to the city with life experiences as an Indian person and cultural knowledge that, along with their relationships with family and other Indian people, supported their cultural connectedness. Many possessed fairly extensive knowledge of tribal history and the experiences of their families and ancestors, although they may not have had explicit knowledge of traditional spirituality and ceremonial life. Their children, Generation 2s, believed that learning family and tribal history, tradition

values, and tribal ways was an important part of cultural connectedness and that seeking out this knowledge was a way to demonstrate connectedness to themselves and others. Amongst Generation 2s, cognitive knowledge of culture was often seen to replace experiential knowledge; this new way of knowing, however, was still considered to create cultural connectedness.

Two participants in Generation 2 did not have access to information on family and tribe, in one case due to family circumstances and in the other, due to the past absorption of his or her tribal group into a larger, yet unrelated, tribe. These individuals developed strategies to learn about and participate in the ways of other tribal groups, especially those of the majority tribal culture in Denver, and to piece together family history. These strategies both demonstrated these participants' desire to remain culturally connected and provided them with a sense of cultural connection, albeit to other Indians and a generalized, rather than tribal-specific, Indian culture.

The need to learn and know about one's family and tribal history and culture as a condition for cultural connectedness appeared to grow exponentially by the time participants in Generations 3 and 4 were teenagers and young adults. Purposely setting out to learn about one's tribe and culture took on prominence among this generational group. Moreover, knowing about other tribal cultures and contemporary issues facing Native peoples worldwide was seen as natural and desirable for urban Indian persons of these generational groups. In fact, demonstrating a high level of overall knowledge about Native history, culture, politics, and law appeared to be growing as a requirement for claiming cultural connectedness.

It may have been difficult for Generation 3s and 4s to gain from previous generations the cultural, tribal, and family information they felt they needed, and it was common for them to express frustration about not knowing as much as they felt they should. Reading and taking academic classes became an acceptable way for this generational group to gain knowledge about Indian history, culture, and their tribes. Involvement in this type of learning was a way to demonstrate a high level of cultural connectedness for many participants. Generation 3s and 4s seemed to hold the attitude that if a person is culturally connected to any degree, then it is apparent that he or she needs to learn more and the classroom is a legitimate site for this learning. Being in the classroom also allowed some participants in this generational group to share about their Indian experiences as well as correct misinformation—two additional ways that Generation 3s and 4s reinforced their sense of cultural connectedness.

Participants from Generations 3 and 4 appeared to feel a pressure to “know.” Knowing one’s tribal language was not required for cultural connectedness amongst Generation 3s and 4s, however, knowing that one *should* know it was. Instead, possessing particular kinds of knowledge of one’s own and other tribes became a minimal requirement for cultural connectedness. For this generational group, it was no longer enough to just know about one’s own tribal history or family experiences. Political and social conscientization in regard to Native life had become an additional requirement for cultural connectedness. Participants in this generational group appeared to be under pressure to not only know their tribes’ histories, but also be informed about specific political and social issues affecting these tribes—and optimally, those of other tribes and Native peoples worldwide, as well. Some Generations 3 and 4 participants expressed that

they felt they should also be knowledgeable about the impact on Indian people of policies, laws, and stereotypes. The sheer body of knowledge that some Generation 3s and 4s felt they must possess left them feeling that although they had a strong cultural identity, cultural connectedness was beyond their reach. However, possessing this comprehensive body of knowledge, as well as the specifics of one's tribe's traditional ways came to feel, for many Generation 3s and 4s, like a requisite for considering oneself to be culturally connected.

Powwows (Structure)

Participants in Generation 1 attended powwows, both in the city and on their reservations, during the 1960s and 1970s, and even into the 1980s, as a means of socializing, renewing acquaintances, and strengthening social relationships with other Indian people. Powwows on the reservation were a way for Generation 1s to maintain links to their tribal communities; powwows in the city were a way of maintaining links to other urban Indians. Generation 1s also saw powwows as family gatherings and important sites for modeling for their children culturally appropriate social interactions with other Indians.

Generation 2s looked back at powwows during their youth as playing a strong role in facilitating their cultural connectedness. These participants continued to see powwows as a ways to help their children and grandchildren develop cultural connectedness, although they admitted that this was actually truer before powwows had changed to their current focus on contest dancing.

Individuals in Generations 3 and 4 were likely to consider powwows as one of the few remaining ways some urban American Indians could connect to Indian culture.

Powwows continued to provide this generational group with opportunities for relational connectedness with other Indians; they also provided opportunities for interacting intertribally. Thus, powwows offered a venue for acquiring some of the knowledge this generational group felt they needed in order to claim they were culturally connected.

Urban Indian Young People (Structure)

When considering their grandchildren and great-grandchildren, participants in Generation 1 expressed that there was a need for these young people to retain connections to Indian culture. They did not report, however, having this same concern for their own children (participants in Generation 2) as they were growing up, likely because they saw their children engaged in the social interactions with other Indians that they considered to be the foundation of cultural connectedness.

Generation 2s, likewise, expressed little concern for their own cultural connectedness, but felt that they must do things to help their children and grandchildren stay connected. Members of this generational group believed that adults must role model cultural connectedness for younger people and that it was important to young people's connectedness that they have visited and/or lived for a short time in their tribal communities.

As their own children (Generation 3s) were growing up, Generation 2s took them to powwows as a means of facilitating interaction with other Indian people. Admitting that powwows have changed in recent years, Generation 2s now looked upon them as settings where their grandchildren could take part in cultural activities that would impart in these young people a sense of cultural connectedness.

Generation 3 participants were aware that their children (Generation 4s) might not be as connected to Indian culture as they would want them to be, and so, these parents actively strove to do things to help them be connected. There was an increased emphasis on participation in cultural activities and programs seen amongst this generational group. Generation 3s actively brought their children and grandchildren “into the culture” by participating with them in cultural activities, such as powwows and traditional spirituality. Stressing to their children that they should participate in cultural activities and then participating with them in these activities, appeared also to be a way that Generation 3s used to compensate for their own feelings of cultural disconnection.

Being Involved With Indian Culture (Style)

After their arrival in the city, involvement in Indian culture for Generation 1s, meant involvement in their urban Indian community and the network of social relationships that the community represented. Cultural and community involvement stood as a metaphor for interaction with other Indian people and thus, an important aspect of cultural connectedness.

Participants in Generation 2 carried forward much the same belief about involvement in Indian culture as did their parents. They added, however, an emphasis on *doing* in relation to the urban Indian community. Involvement in the Indian community and being of service to other Indian people became ways that Generation 2s could both demonstrate and deepen cultural connectedness.

By Generations 3 and 4, however, as discussed above, cultural connectedness had become more complicated. Being around Indian people was no longer enough to create a feeling of cultural connectedness. At the same time, participating in cultural activities left

some Generation 3s and 4s feeling that something was still missing in their cultural connectedness. “Immersion” or total involvement in Indian culture became a goal for a good number of Generations 3 and 4 participants, but how this immersion was to be accomplished remained difficult for them to define.

CHAPTER 7. DISCUSSION

This study examined the cultural identity and cultural connectedness of multiple generations of American Indians whose families had been living continuously in an urban area for 40 to 50 years. The intent of the current study was to better understand how members of this group developed and maintained their cultural identities while living away from a tribal community and as a small percentage of the population of a large and culturally diverse metropolitan area. The study also sought to identify what constituted cultural connectedness—a term used frequently amongst urban Indians (e.g., “She isn’t very culturally connected,” or “That child will lose his cultural connections if placed in a non-Indian foster home”) that appears to encompass factors of importance to being American Indian. However, prior to this study, culture connectedness has received little, if any, attention in the scholarly or social work practice literature. (Note: In this chapter, in order to remain true to phenomenological inquiry, cultural identity and cultural connectedness, when referred to in relation to the specific experiences of study participants are called *phenomena*, and when abstracted beyond the experiences of participants for discussion purposes, are henceforth referred to as *constructs*.)

Three or four generations of members from five families were interviewed to explore not only the development and maintenance of cultural identity and connectedness, but of equal importance, how these phenomena or *constructs* may be evolving over the course of multiple generations and are impacted by urban living. To

achieve this exploration, a phenomenological approach was utilized to capture the lived experiences of study participants, and interviews were analyzed using Giorgi's methodology for the phenomenological reduction. Findings revealed 13 structures and 8 styles of the phenomenon of cultural identity, and 9 structures and 7 styles of the phenomenon of cultural connectedness. Together, the structures and styles of each of the two study phenomena have provided detailed answers to the three research questions of interest in this study: (a) "How do urban American Indians construct and maintain their cultural identities?" (b) "What strategies (i.e., cognitive, behavioral, emotional and/or spiritual) do urban American Indians employ to achieve a sense of being connected to their specific tribal and/or a generalized American Indian culture?" and (c) "What differences related to cultural identity and cultural connectedness can be found between generations of American Indians whose families have maintained long-term residence in an urban area?"

In this final chapter, I focus brief discussion on areas related to several of the generational aspects of the two study phenomena. Subsequent to this generational discussion, the chapter continues with the implications of the study as they pertain to social work research, education, and practice. The chapter then concludes by presenting the strengths and limitations of the study.

Generational Aspects of Cultural Identity and Cultural Connectedness

Cultural Identity

Findings of this study point to urban American Indian identity as an internalized state or core component of the self that in Generational groups 2, 3, and 4 has been impacted in a number of ways by the urban context. One impact of living in an urban

area, revealed in participant narratives, was a growing divergence in experiences related to being Indian between those individuals comprising Generation 1, who had grown up in a tribal community or on a reservation, and their children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren, most of whom had lived exclusively in the city. These changing experiences seemed to play a part in the shift in how participants conceptualized, situated, and then negotiated their cultural identity. One example of this is the change in identity stance whereby Generation 1 participants considered that American Indian was the only identity possible for them, but Generation 3 and 4 participants had come to believe that they had choices of ethnic or cultural identities and that they could successfully negotiate multiple identities if they so chose.

It was striking to note the amount of time, and mental and emotional energy that participants from all generational groups had devoted to reflecting on their cultural identity and what it meant to be American Indian, as well as a member of their tribe and family or kinship group. These endeavors had occupied a prominent place in the lives of most participants for many years; the majority had begun the quest to understand their identity during their teenage years, and this had continued into their young and middle adult years as an important developmental task. It was evident that individuals comprising Generation 2, as well as those from Generations 3 and 4, had worked diligently to construct a cultural identity that made sense to them, had determined the values and behaviors that would support that identity, and were engaged in continual efforts to maintain or refine that identity.

Generation 2 participants may be best thought of as members of a transitional generation. Most Generation 2 participants were born in the city. Consequently, unlike

their parents who came to the city with established cultural identities and as such, considered themselves to be the same as their peers on the reservation/tribal community, Generation 2s were situated firmly within the urban setting. Their continuing ties to their families' tribal communities and extended family living there necessitated that they not only develop an Indian identity appropriate to the urban context, but one that would allow them to smoothly transition between the reservation and the city. They were challenged, however, to determine how this could be done by having few, if any, prior examples. The outcome of the identity development process of Generation 2 participants, as seen in the their narratives, was that this generational group appeared to have achieved the most highly developed, complex, and adaptable American Indian identities of any of the four generational groups that were examined in this study. Further research on urban American Indian cultural identity may determine that the cultural identities of members of this generational group, and the ways in which they constructed their cultural identities, were distinct from the generational groups both before and after them.

Urban American Indian Cultural Identity Discourses

There is no argument that powerful identity discourses and societal messages about who American Indians are (and should be) have impacted members of this group for hundreds of years. Study participants' lived experiences revealed the influence of many of these identity discourses, both those coming from the wider American society and those generated from within the American Indian world.

Most notable of the intra-cultural discourses that appeared to affect the cultural identity of study participants, beginning with those from Generation 2, was one that stressed that living in an urban area inherently affected cultural identity in a negative

way. This discourse included messages, such as (a) an American Indian is somehow less Indian if he or she lives in an urban area than if he or she lives on a reservation or in a tribal community; (b) one is at risk of quickly losing one's Indian identity by being in the city; and (c) it is difficult to acquire an Indian identity if one is an urban Indian; consequently, if an urban Indian does develop a cultural identity, this identity may not be genuine or it may simply have been "made up" from elements of what non-Indians think Indians should be, which the individual has unconsciously internalized.

Another identity discourse was recognized as impacting participants from Generations 2, 3, and 4. This discourse rose to prominence during the late 1960s and spoke to the need to re-traditionalize, retribalize, and revive Indian cultures. It contained a powerful message that participants heard as saying that in order to truly be American Indian, one must embrace traditional cultural values, practices, and spirituality; profess pride in one's Indian heritage; and demonstrate one's Indianness through vigorous involvement in culture-focused activities.

Study participants from Generation 2 were teenagers and young adults at the time that this discourse arose and while it grew more powerful. Their narratives spoke to the impact that the messages, contained within the discourse, had upon their cultural identity development. These narratives also spoke to the confusion each participant had to resolve when the messages of this discourse about what one must do to be Indian conflicted with those messages of the discourse that spoke to the difficulty of having an Indian identity as an urban-based Native person. Thus, cultural identity development for many Generation 2 participants was a much more daunting task than it had been for their parents. Despite the enormity of this task, most Generation 2 participants felt that they had met and

resolved its challenges successfully and considered themselves to have achieved a strong and positive American Indian cultural identity.

Generation 3 and 4 participants currently find themselves tasked with developing their cultural identity under conditions within the urban environment that are much different than those encountered by prior generational groups. The 25 to 30 years that have passed since Generation 2s were young adults have been witness to exponential changes overall in American society; predominant among these is a lifestyle that is much faster paced, more complex, and more diverse than that of the 1960s and 1970s. A number of current social and economic factors make it challenging for Generation 3 and 4 individuals to find and sustain relationships with other Indian people. Job and financial responsibilities now require many to work long hours, and often, more than one job. Moreover, American Indians have come to be dispersed across the wide geographical area of the metropolitan Denver area, as well as absorbed within its large population numbers.

Social changes and their challenges have also filtered down to urban Indian communities in such a way that young adult participants in Generations 3 and 4 now find themselves part of an Indian community that is more socially, economically, and educationally diverse than it was 30 years ago. Many times, also, the relational ties through family, kin, clan, or tribe that once created closeness and affiliation in this urban Indian community have been disrupted through social, emotional, and geographical distance.

These changes are reflected in the lived experiences of Generation 3 and 4 participants and speak to the accuracy of one of the intra-cultural messages that this

generational group has—that it is harder to find and connect with other Indians in their city and that an urban Indian must work hard to find a place where he or she fits in as an Indian person. This challenge remains an important factor in whether or not Generation 3 and 4 participants, and others like them, are able to develop an American Indian identity that serves to support and empower them.

Although larger societal as well as local community conditions may have made it somewhat easier for Generation 2 participants than those from the two later generations to engage with the cultural revitalization movement, Generation 3 and 4 participants have still firmly internalized the message that they are responsible for being engaged with cultural values and traditional practices and spirituality, and that they, too, must play their part in keeping Indian culture alive and vital, plus pass it on to future generations.

Although many of the Generation 3 and 4 participants shared that it is difficult for them to find the activities and events through which they might do this, they appeared to be compensating for this difficulty by expecting themselves to develop cultural knowledge by other means, such as reading, higher education, and political conscientization.

Identity discourses and the messages contained within them about what it means to be an urban Indian come both from the dominant culture and from within Indian culture. As this study revealed, these discourses and messages play a role in how urban Indians develop and negotiate their cultural identity. Additional work is needed in this area in order to fully understand the interplay of the messages received from these two sources, and to determine how the discourses of which these messages are a part affect the processes through which culture is transmitted intergenerationally.

An Indian Space in the City

One final aspect of the findings related to cultural identity warrants brief discussion. It is intriguing that the majority of study participants shared that they had purposely created a personal space in which it felt safe and natural to enact their Indianness. This space, which has been referred to throughout this study as an Indian space in the city, was found to be not only a physical space, but also, for a number of participants, an emotional or psychological space, as well. One participant referred to his personal Indian space as a “third space,” and he defined it as a place where Indianness is not like it is on the reservation, nor like in the city, but where it is completely different from either two.

The notion that urban Indians find or create a space in the city or a third space of Indianness contrasts with the popular notion that all American Indians, and especially those living in urban areas, now walk in two worlds—Indian and non-Indian. Accompanying the two worlds metaphor is the idea, likely stemming first from some of the early studies using the orthogonal model of cultural identity (Oetting & Beauvais, 1991), that biculturality may be an ideal identity stance for which to strive. Henze and Vannette (1993) have challenged the positioning of Indian identity as bridging two worlds, because they claim that this simplifies what is a very complex identity process and severely limits American Indians’ options for conceptualizing their identities. Deyhle (1998), in a study of Navajo youth, found that these young people struggled to live in two worlds and that they were better conceptualized as “living in one complex and conflictual world” (p. 10). As a result of her study, Deyhle also posited the possibility of American Indians occupying, at times, a “third world” (p. 11), a prospect that appears to be supported by the experiences of study participants.

It is clear that for participants in the current study, the third space or Indian space in the city functioned in powerful and important ways in both identity development and maintenance as well as in general well-being. What may be significant in this regard is that the individual appeared to have nearly total control over the space. Participants decided where to locate the Indian space in the city, when it was needed, what was contained in it, and importantly, who—or the influence of whom—got to enter.

It appeared that within the Indian space in the city, the individual is protected from the negative and damaging effects of being surrounded by a culture that is not his or her own. In considering this space, it may be that its holistic and spiritual features and the fact that it is wholly Indian and not bicultural are associated with participants' efforts to resist assimilation and to control the impact of the dominant culture on body, mind, and spirit. This concept of an Indian space must surely serve other important purposes that were not uncovered in the current study, and thus, deserves serious future study.

Cultural Connectedness

In a review of the literature, it was found that the ways in which urban American Indians maintained connections to their specific tribal cultures, as well as the shared or inter-tribal American Indian culture, had not been specified or sufficiently examined. As a result of this study, two components of the construct of cultural connectedness have been identified. The first component represents its structure—or *what* constituted the phenomenon and gave participants a sense of being culturally connected; the second component is its style—*how* cultural connectedness was enacted by study participants.

If cultural identity is conceptualized as an internalized state, as discussed in the previous section, cultural connectedness may be seen as expressed more outwardly,

although with the caveat that at this point in my understanding of the construct, it appears as if it is much more than simply the outward or behavioral manifestation of identity.

Most cultural connectedness structures (listed earlier in Table 7) have one of two important features: They involve either relationships with other Indian people or cultural knowledge of some type. For example, the structures of *connections with other American Indians, reservation/tribal community, family, and urban Indian young people* specifically concern the relational aspects of connectedness. In contrast, the structures of *knowledge of culture, cultural traditions and values, and loss or retention of culture* address the knowledge component of connectedness.

Similarly, the styles of cultural connectedness (listed in Table 9) heavily stress interaction and relationships with other Indians as ways that an individual demonstrates or achieves connectedness. At the same time, the knowledge feature continues to be important in the cultural connectedness styles, plus here an added emphasis on involvement in cultural activities emerges as a third key feature.

This study discerned that the nature of cultural connectedness and how it is achieved have changed over generations. Interestingly, the most striking generational differences found in cultural connectedness related directly to the three components identified above—relationships, cultural knowledge, and cultural involvement. The intergenerational analysis of the structures and styles of cultural connectedness clearly indicated that a shift had occurred from Generation 1 to Generations 3 and 4. At the heart of this change were two factors: the differential importance each generational group gave either to the relational component of cultural connectedness or to the knowledge

component, and then whether the main intention behind the involvement in cultural activities was to be relational or to demonstrate cultural connectedness.

To illustrate, participants from Generation 1 generally considered themselves and others to be culturally connected if they were from an Indian family, had significant relationships with other Indian people (either in the city or in the tribal community), and socialized with Indian friends, family, or community members. Involvement in cultural activities, such as powwows and Indian community gatherings, provided opportunities to be social, and support and maintain one's relationships with other Indian people.

Participants from Generation 2 were much like their parents in their belief that family relationships and social interactions with other Indians comprised the foundation of cultural connectedness. In this generational group, however, awareness was dawning that maintaining these relationships was more difficult in an urban area. And at the same time, this generational group was internalizing the powerful discourses about the threat of cultural loss posed by life in an urban area and about their responsibility to be a part of the growing cultural revival and revitalization movements. Accompanying these discourses was another important message—that increasing one's knowledge of culture and engaging in culture-focused activities was a way to confront the negative impacts of the urban context. Thus, among Generation 2 participants, the expectation that one knew about Indian culture became positioned alongside relationships with family and other Indians as an equally critical component that defined cultural connectedness.

Although in Generation 2, the knowledge component of cultural connectedness was added, it continued to be expressed in highly relational ways by these participants. Acquiring cultural knowledge, for example, happened most often through learning passed

directly from one family or community member to another. Likewise, the cultural values that many in this generation identified as most important were concerned with relational behaviors, such as respect, generosity, and caring for elders. Involvement in cultural activities, such as powwows, still served a mainly relational function, and was undertaken primarily with family and with the intention of socializing with other people with whom one had a community relationship.

However, at a particular point, which some Generation 2s can look back to and identify the reason for engaging in cultural activities began to be different. To these participants, it felt as if involvement in cultural activities transformed from being something natural to being done intentionally, as a way to demonstrate cultural connectedness. The accompanying intra-cultural message participants heard could be characterized as, “You must do cultural things in order to be culturally connected.”

As a part of this change, the acquisition of cultural knowledge, too, acquired this same intentional feeling. It became common to hear in Generation 2 narratives that individuals had deliberately set out on a quest for tribal, familial, and cultural knowledge, rather than having allowed this knowledge to come to them and unfold over a lifetime, as it had for members of earlier generations.

It was among Generation 3 participants that some individuals began to express that they either did not feel very culturally connected or felt they could not become culturally connected. At first, this was surprising in light of the fact that they all met the definition of being culturally connected held by participants in Generation 1: They were from an Indian family and had maintained relationships with family members, and the

vast majority could also point to significant social interactions with other Indians, in either the urban or tribal community setting.

Additionally, most of the Generation 3 and 4 participants who experienced a sense that they were not culturally connected were involved at the time of their interview in some cultural activities, even if at only a minimal level, or had been involved more extensively at some point in their past. Thus, these individuals met the added requirement for cultural connectedness—taking part in cultural activities—that first became a criterion amongst Generation 2 participants. However, upon further exploration, what was found to prevent many of these Generation 3 and 4 participants from feeling as culturally connected as they felt they should be was their inability to acquire the extensive amount of information and knowledge about American Indians and Indian culture that they felt they should possess.

Consequently, among Generation 3 and 4 participants, another shift in the balance between the three important features of cultural connectedness—relationship, knowledge, and involvement in cultural activities—had occurred. Although social relationships with other Indians continued to be identified by these individuals as critical to cultural connectedness, for many, the importance of such relationships lay in their being a vehicle for involvement in cultural activities—Indian people were necessary for one's involvement in cultural activities rather than cultural activities providing the opportunity for relatedness with other Indians. As such, among these generational groups, an individual's level of cultural involvement and knowledge of culture defined connectedness equally or even more so than did his or her relationships and interactions with other Indians.

This shift over generations may, in large part, be explained by the fact that many Generation 3s and 4s identified that it has become extremely difficult to connect with other Indian people in the urban environment. Moreover, they have less time to be relational with others, as they strive to meet the many life demands and expectations.

At the same time, these individuals appear to have found that it has become somewhat easier to learn about culture, because forms of learning not available to prior generations are now commonly available and readily accessible. First, there is a growing collection of books and other materials that are considered to provide accurate and legitimate information about culture; thus, reading has become a more acceptable way to learn about Indian culture than it was even for Generation 2 participants. Second, some Native learning may be moving from individual and family settings to group and public venues. Participants from Generations 3 and 4 now identify that they have numerous opportunities to learn about culture that are provided by Native people, such as through community programs, at seminars and conferences, or in college courses in Native American studies or Native languages.

Looking across the four generations in this study, there was an exponential alteration in what constituted cultural connectedness that may explain why many members of the later generational groups felt they were less culturally connected than they wished to be. This change centered primarily on the amount of cultural knowledge that an individual must possess in order to claim that he or she is culturally connected. At its most extreme, a number of participants felt they must not only know at an in-depth level the history, traditions, and practices of their own tribe, but also have at least some familiarity in these areas as regards several other tribes as well. In addition, these

individuals considered connectedness to require knowledge of Indian history as it pertained to the relationship of tribes to the United States government as well as major historical events. Also important was an awareness of Indian law, and political and social issues affecting their own and other tribes as well as indigenous people in other parts of the world.

As a result, in order to feel that they were culturally connected, these members of the younger generation of urban Indian people not only have to be a member of a family that continues to identify itself as American Indian, but also must (a) seek out, develop, and nurture social relationships with other Indian people in a setting in which Indians are a very small percentage of the population and may be widely dispersed geographically; (b) be actively involved in culture-focused activities, again in a milieu where these types of activities may be either few in number and/or difficult to locate; and (c) be intentionally involved in a process of seeking out and learning very specialized and detailed knowledge of American Indian culture, history, politics, laws, and social issues.

Reflecting upon the requirements for cultural connectedness that these younger study participants had identified created an awareness of the enormity of the task with which they are faced. And, not only must they find ways to meet these expectations for cultural knowledge, involvement, and relationships with other Indians, but also they must do so in a multicultural urban environment. Despite its surface-level diversity, this context still revolves around and imposes the overarching values, social roles, and activities of the dominant White culture, and is one in which American Indians continue to be overlooked, misidentified, or highly marginalized. These younger generations are also negotiating cultural connectedness as members of an American society that, at a

macro level, is rapidly changing, and where, at a more micro level, they must meet challenges of daily living that are more complex, complicated, and demanding than their Generation 1 grandparents and great-grandparents would ever have imagined.

It was beyond the scope of this study to determine from whence came the expectations for cultural connectedness felt by Generation 3 and 4 participants as well as how these powerful expectations were internalized and came to organize the thinking and behavior of these participants. One might speculate that they are an outgrowth of the messages internalized by Generation 2 participants regarding the threat of cultural loss related to living in an urban environment, the importance of resisting assimilation, and the expectation that they contribute to reviving and strengthening Indian culture. These expectations felt by Generation 3s and 4s may also reflect, in part, the fear that families as a whole, as well as participants from all generational groups, expressed: Cultural connectedness in their families might end with the current generation. And, these expectations may also be a late manifestation of the effects of the colonization of American Indian people that began hundreds of years earlier. Future studies will again be needed to more fully understand cultural connectedness in current and subsequent generations of urban American Indians and determine the mechanisms involved in the increasingly more rigorous expectations for achieving cultural connectedness that were uncovered in this study.

Implications for Social Work Research

The current study has opened the door for ongoing research related to urban American Indian cultural identity and cultural connectedness by identifying a number of critical constituents of these two constructs. Few of the structures and styles of both cultural identity and cultural connectedness identified in the experiences of study participants have been treated in prior studies to any large extent, and therefore, a future study of any and all of these structures and styles could contribute significantly to increased understanding of urban American Indian individuals, families, and communities. Also, in order to gain a broader perspective of the constructs under study, it will be necessary to study the experiences of other segments of the urban American Indian population. These include such groups as Indians who are more embedded in the urban environment and not so readily identifiable by their participation or position in an urban Indian community as were the study participants, or those who identify themselves as being tribal members or as having Indian heritage, but who otherwise have little or no connection to other Indians or participation in cultural activities.

In addition to shedding new light on cultural identity and connectedness, the current study can be considered to have intimated the fact that some urban Indian families transmit culture down through generations more effectively than do others, and that cultural identity and connectedness play some part in the intergenerational transmission of culture. A future study examining this relationship could potentially provide important insights that could assist social workers and other helping professionals who work with American Indian families to support families in the cultural transmission process.

The majority of study participants identified in their narratives that they created either a psychological and/or physical space where they could engage safely with and have control over their Indianness. The function of this space as a place to connect with important aspects of one's cultural identity, as well as the benefits derived from it, need to be researched more thoroughly to determine the value of such space as a tool that may be incorporated into therapeutic or other types of interventions aimed at assisting urban Indian clients.

Relationship Between Cultural Identity and Cultural Connectedness

Finally, it is clear from the experiences of study participants and from the examination of the structures and styles of the two study phenomena that cultural identity and cultural connectedness are in fact separate, yet related, constructs. Additional studies are now needed to clarify this relationship; for example, a factor model of the theorized relationship between cultural identity and cultural connectedness in urban American Indians could be posited and statistically tested in a way similar to that done by Kiang, Harter, and Whitesell (2007) in their model of relational expression of ethnic identity in Chinese Americans. In the end, whatever design is employed, the current study provides several aspects that might be considered in exploring the relationship between cultural identity and cultural connectedness. These aspects are briefly discussed below.

When considering the information provided by Generation 1 participants regarding their cultural connectedness, this construct can be conceptualized as mainly requiring relational involvement with other Indians, and hypothetically, may exist without involvement in cultural activities if the relational involvement is available in other ways. To illustrate, each Generation 1 participant described him or herself as being

quite culturally connected, even though a number of them had taken part in very few, if any, cultural activities for decades. These individuals had, however, retained strong and meaningful relationships with other Indian people, a way of being that I refer to as *relational connectedness*. In contrast, beginning with Generation 2 participants, some individuals began to rate themselves as having a strong cultural identity (either tribal and/or shared) and, at the same time, little or no cultural connectedness. In those expressing less cultural connectedness, it could be seen that they had almost no relational connectedness with other Indians. It appears that among study participants, three key factors combined and impacted both identity and cultural connectedness. These factors were (a) the strength of the individual's tribal and/or shared Indian identity; (b), their level of relational connectedness with other Indians; and (c) their degree of involvement in cultural practices, activities, and/or events. For example, the following list expresses how these three factors were combined for the Generation 2 member of each of the five study families:

- Families 1, 2, and 3: Strong tribal and shared Indian identities/strong relational connectedness/strong cultural involvement
- Family 4: Weak tribal identity and strong shared Indian identity/strong relational connectedness/strong cultural involvement
- Family 5: Moderate tribal identity and strong shared Indian identity/weak relational connectedness/no cultural involvement

For Generation 3 and 4 participants, the combination of identity and connectedness factors becomes more varied, even amongst members of the same family, as can be seen in Table 13.

Numerous questions beyond that of just the relationship between cultural identity and cultural connectedness arise as a result of this brief look at the differing combinations of the three factors. For example, how is it possible to have strong cultural identity without relational connectedness with other Indians? How is it that I have worked with individuals outside this study sample who demonstrate relational connectedness with other Indians, significant cultural knowledge, and involvement in cultural practices and activities, yet report that their Indian identity is very weak? Additionally, questions need to be answered regarding the extent to which cultural identity and cultural connectedness are context dependent. When an individual has a strong tribal identity and also expresses a strong shared Indian identity, could the shared identity in fact be an expression of the strength of his or her relational connectedness with other Indians?

Table 13

Identity and Connectedness Factors for Generation 3 and 4 Participants

Family/Member	Identity	Relational connectedness	Cultural involvement
Family 1/Member 1	Strong tribal and shared Indian identities	Strong	Strong
Family 1/Member 2	Weak shared Indian identity and no tribal identity	None	None
Family 1/Member 3	Strong tribal and shared Indian identities	Strong	Strong
Family 2/Member 1	Strong shared Indian identity and no tribal identity	Early strong relational connectedness that is now rejected	None
Family 2/Member 2	Medium tribal identity and strong shared Indian identity	Early strong relational connectedness but now weak	None
Family 3/Member 1	Strong tribal identity and no shared Indian identity	Strong	Strong
Family 3/Member 2	Strong tribal and shared Indian identities	Strong	Strong
Family 5/Member 1	Strong tribal and shared Indian identities	None	None

It is hoped that this study will lead to not only additional qualitative studies, but also future quantitative research aimed at answering questions similar to those above. Much still remains to be learned about the way the two constructs represented by the study phenomena impact the health and well-being of urban American Indians, and about how they can inform the development of programs, services, and practice interventions used by social workers and other helping professionals.

Implications for Social Work Education

In my experience of training hundreds of non-Indian social workers, mental health and substance abuse providers, and other helping professionals to work more effectively with American Indian clients, most workers report that they have little, if any, knowledge of Indian culture, the experiences of Indian people, or the communities within which they live. Many Indian clients, in turn, have reported to me that often they have difficulty working with non-Indian service providers, because these individuals are unable to understand their cultural experiences, worldview, and value system. Given that each side in the helping relationship is reporting a disconnection from the other side, it is vitally important that social workers increase their knowledge of urban Indian individuals, families, and communities. A thorough understanding of cultural identity and cultural connectedness is a critical step in building a knowledge and skills base that will help social workers and other professionals to design and provide services that are culturally relevant and responsive to the urban Indian population with which they work.

The Council on Social Work Education (CSWE) has set educational standards and policies that inform the content of social work curricula in accredited social work programs at the baccalaureate, masters, and doctoral levels (Council on Social Work

Education, 2007). CSWE Educational Policy 2.1 sets foundational competencies for social work curricula and calls for an emphasis on an “outcome approach” in which students demonstrate “competencies in practice with individuals, families, groups, communities, and organizations” (p. 3). CSWE recognizes that this requires “mastery of the knowledge associated with them [historically oppressed groups and communities]” (p. 3). CSWE Educational Policy 2.1.7 further indicates that social work educational programs must apply knowledge of the human experience to teach social workers to “utilize conceptual frameworks to guide the processes of assessment, intervention and evaluation [and to] critique and apply knowledge to understand person and environment” (p. 5).

In addition, Educational Policy 2.1.4 speaks to diversity and identity and acknowledges the connections between a group’s difference from the majority culture and individual members’ experiences of oppression and marginalization. As such, social workers are expected to acquire the ability through their educational programs to “recognize the extent to which the dominant culture’s structures and values may oppress, marginalize, alienate, or create or enhance privilege and power” (CSWE, 2007, pp. 4-5) and to hear, understand, and respond to clients’ experiences related to difference.

To date, social work students have had difficulty demonstrating required competencies with urban American Indian populations, utilizing conceptual frameworks, and engaging diversity and difference in practice (Weaver, 1997a; Weaver, 1999). Many go on to become professional social workers who have trouble hearing and responding to urban American Indian clients.

Information on the lifestyles, worldviews, and value systems of urban American Indians has yet to be adequately incorporated into the body of social work theory and practice knowledge; this limitation manifests as a lack of content on this population in most social work education programs. This is a significant area of omission that goes on to affect social workers' abilities to practice in culturally responsive ways with American Indians, a group that engages with all of the service delivery systems in the urban environment in which social workers typically practice.

Findings of the current study provide new insight into how American Indians negotiate their cultural identity and achieve a sense of cultural connectedness while living in an urban area. These findings are an example of the type of knowledge that social workers must acquire in order to meet the expectations set forth in the CSWE educational standards and policies referenced above. As such, the findings of this study might begin to inform thinking about what content is important when designing new, or updating existing, social work curricula on American Indians. The incorporation of this knowledge can also provide opportunities for students to take from their classroom learning information about American Indians that is relevant to the real-world practice situations they will encounter as social workers. Curriculum and classroom learning improvements, in turn, can lead to enhancements that increase both social workers' skills in providing culturally sensitive and responsive services to urban American Indian clients and the ability of social work agencies to design programs and services that are culturally appropriate and meet the wide range of needs of this population.

Implications for Social Work Practice

Findings of this study pointed to the existence of broad variation in how urban American Indians conceptualize and situate their cultural identity as well as in the ways in which they connect with Native culture. Thus, providing culturally-responsive services to this population requires that social workers and other professionals be open and sensitive in exploring each urban Indian client's understanding of his or her identity and how he or she negotiates connectedness to Native culture. Working effectively with urban Indian clients also requires that practitioners remain mindful that individuals may differ radically from one another, and even from other family members, in their cultural identification and their desire to be connected to Indian culture. As such, there is no quintessential cultural identity or right or wrong level of connectedness with Native culture, nor is there some ideal combination of the structures and styles identified in this study that must come together in order for a person to claim Indian identity and cultural connectedness. Instead, these constructs are complex and uniquely personal aspects of each individual's experience of being American Indian that may undergo reassessment and change over time.

In participant narratives, it was noteworthy that many individuals reported that they had spent considerable time and energy over the course of their lives reflecting upon their cultural identity and connectedness in an attempt to not only understand themselves, but also situate and reconcile their experiences with those of other Indian people and within the historical context of tribal, family, and ancestral experiences. It is likely that most non-Indian practitioners are unaware of the level of insight and understanding that many urban Indian clients have regarding their identity and connectedness, and thus

practitioners may neglect to include these areas in assessment and intervention. As Gone (2006) contended, these aspects constitute “an underused point of access for clinical and consultative assessment and understanding” (p. 73). It is also my contention that these aspects have not been adequately explored as to their role in emotional and psychological distress in urban Indian populations and conversely, their ability to also support well-being and healing.

Despite the increased understanding of urban American Indians that is contained in the findings of this study, incorporating such knowledge into social work practice presents a challenge. There remains a serious shortage of American Indian social workers and mental health professionals, and as such, most Indians clients will receive services from a non-Indian practitioner. However, the majority of non-Indian practitioners with whom I have worked for more than 20 years have shared that they feel uncomfortable discussing identity and culture with Indian clients in therapeutic and other practice settings, either for fear of responding in a way that makes them appear insensitive or because they feel unequipped to know where to take the discussion once it is opened up. Future work must now be undertaken to translate the findings of this study into practice techniques, models, or recommendations that can assist practitioners to determine when it is appropriate to incorporate cultural identity and connectedness as intervention or treatment strategies and how to comfortably and skillfully apply them in these practice settings.

Cultural identity and connectedness are relevant not only in clinical or direct practice settings, but also in community practice aspects of social work, most specifically, program and service development and delivery. It is critical in developing

culturally appropriate programs and services for urban American Indians that there is an adequate understanding of who urban Indians understand themselves to be, how they come to this understanding of their Indianness, and the effects of the urban context on this conceptualization of identity. This by necessity involves recognizing the increasingly complex ethnic and tribal heritages of urban Indian people as well as the processes that lead an individual to identify as American Indian in a diverse and multiracial urban environment where identity choices may exist.

Furthermore, in most areas with substantial urban Indian populations, Indian people are engaged in various kinds of efforts to make sure that children and other young people in their communities have opportunities to experience Indian culture and understand what it means to be Indian. Most urban Indian people are likely to agree that they want their children to grow up feeling good about being Indian. Consequently, many agencies serving urban Indians are willing to invest in projects aimed at strengthening cultural identity and cultural connectedness in young people; cultural-identity-strengthening curricula, programs, and activities, both grassroots and professional, are offered in many urban areas. However, because the ways that individuals in urban areas develop a strong sense of being Native, a positive American Indian identity, and a sense of connection to Indian culture had not been researched adequately prior to this study, these programs typically lack elements that have been identified as important by participants in the current study.

To illustrate, programs may include as participants, individuals who are already quite connected in various ways with other Indian people. Service providers running these programs may not realize that to most effectively serve their community, they must

engage in outreach efforts to those Indian people who find it difficult to make connections with other Indians in the urban setting. Or, programs may be designed from a cultural connectedness perspective similar to that of study participants in Generations 1 or 2. However, a program based solely upon these generational groups' focus on family and relationships as creating cultural connectedness may leave program participants from later generational groups feeling as if the program does not address their need for cognitive knowledge in areas, such as the current events happening in their own tribal communities, the practices and traditions of their own and other tribes, or the current political and social issues affecting indigenous people worldwide.

Strengths and Limitations of the Study

Study Strengths

This phenomenological study yielded richly detailed and nuanced descriptions of the experience of developing and maintaining an American Indian cultural identity as a member of a family that has lived in an urban area for three or more generations. It also provided a description of what constitutes cultural connectedness and how this connectedness is achieved by urban Indians. The extensiveness of detail and depth of the data, acquired through the narrative inquiry approach utilized in this study, was a direct result of three factors. First, study participants had extensive experience with the phenomena of interest, and it was found during the interviewing process that many had spent considerable time over the course of their lifetimes reflecting on both their cultural identities and the ways in which they maintained connections to their culture. Second, my position as an insider researcher, my experience in interviewing and ability to elicit a thorough explication of a participant's experience, and my familiarity with cultural

modes of communication and expression encouraged and facilitated participants in the expression of their experiences. And third, Giorgi's phenomenological data analysis methodology allowed for a rigorous engagement with the data that lead to precise and explicit descriptions of the phenomena and their structures and styles.

The focus on an intergenerational examination of the two study phenomena is a strength of this study. Although two previous studies have made some efforts to present cultural identity aspects across different generations (i.e., Jackson & Chapleski, 2000; Shultz, 1998), these aspects were not the primary focus of analysis, as they were in the current study, nor were the two prior studies focused specifically on urban Indians, but instead, looked at tribally-based Navajos or Ashinaabegs.

The findings of the current study related to cultural identity supported many of the identity factors found by House et al. (2006) in their research on urban Indian identity. Further, the findings of this study elaborated upon factors briefly mentioned in prior studies, such as ethnic identity in biracial and multiethnic Indians, and ethnic misidentification. Moreover, the study also identified new aspects of urban Indian cultural identity that have yet to make their way into the literature, including the effects of the urban environment on cultural identity, perceived differences between urban Indians and their reservation-based peers, the role of interactions with non-Indians, and the creation of a psychological and/or physical space of Indianness in the city. In addition, this study is one of few that have analyzed American Indian cultural identity not only across generations, but among individuals from different tribal groups, as well as among American Indians who identify themselves as being biracial or multiethnic.

The current study is especially unique in that it is the first to explicitly research cultural connectedness and attempt to define not only what constitutes connectedness but also how it is achieved. As such, this study addresses a critical gap in the literature related to both American Indians in general, and more specifically, to those living in urban areas. This examination of cultural connectedness is further enhanced by the study findings that clearly pointed to generational differences in how connectedness is conceptualized and actualized, as well to factors that may be contributing to changes in later generations' abilities to feel culturally connected.

By examining cultural identity and cultural connectedness, the current study addressed two phenomena that urban American Indians reflect upon and deal with continually throughout their lives. In addition, this study makes two other contributions. First, numerous matters related to urban Indian cultural identity and cultural connectedness have been exposed, and in doing so, this study has created a starting place for future research and/or pilot projects aimed at increasing understanding of these aspects of the urban Indian experience. Additional studies in these areas should focus on generating findings based upon quantitative data, which when combined with the findings of this study, will more fully inform social work practice interventions.

Second, and concurrently, this study provides detailed examples of how urban American Indians think about and construct their cultural identities, as well as how they define and negotiate cultural connectedness. Those practitioners and program developers who have experience working with urban American Indians will likely see in the findings commonalities and areas of congruence between members of the study sample and urban Indians from other cities. As such, although not generalizable to all groups of urban

Indians, these findings can still do much to inform social workers' thinking about how they practice with this population. The findings can also be afforded consideration by those who may be developing practice models and interventions intended to increase the effectiveness of services provided to this population.

Study Limitations

This study is affected by the general limitations of any qualitative and phenomenological study, especially the inappropriateness of generalizing its findings beyond the study participants to Indians living in other urban areas. Furthermore, this study did not examine cultural identity and connectedness in individuals and families who had not maintained at least enough visibility in an urban Indian community to be known to other community members, although technically, this is not a limitation, because these individuals were not the intended focus of the study. Thus, the findings do not provide a look at how identity and connectedness may or may not be similar in urban Indians who have either chosen to distance themselves from the Indian community or who have lost their connection to the community. It also does not address urban American Indians with specific characteristics, such as dealing with substance abuse, being raised in a non-Indian home, or growing up without knowing they were American Indian.

The major limitation of the study could be considered to inhere in the challenges of recruitment and sample selection. Participants in this study were but a small sample of the full range of the population of families living in Denver who came to the city from their reservations or tribal communities either through participation in the Relocation Program during the 1950s and 1960s, or in some other way during the period beginning

after World War II through the late 1960s. Participants also represented families and individuals who had retained enough connections to the intertribal Native culture present in the Denver Indian community to have been identified as Indian by other American Indians.

The unique experiences of members of Indian families who may have come to Denver during the period of interest of this study but who have not maintained connections to the Denver Indian community and/or who have assimilated into the wider non-Indian community are not included in this study. Identification and recruitment of such families would have proven difficult and time consuming. However, because little is known about their engagement with the constructs of interest—American Indian cultural identity and cultural connectedness—future research aimed at bringing to light the experiences of these urban American Indians could add much to our understanding of the urbanization and assimilation processes as they affect Native peoples.

Whereas it is estimated that American Indian people in Denver represent more than 100 different tribes (King, 1992), this study included members of only five of these, and three of the five families represent the dominant and largest cultural group in the Denver area, the Lakota/Dakota. The experiences of Navajo people, another large segment of the Denver urban Indian population, are missing from this study, as are those of many other tribal groups. Research has yet to examine whether differences exist in the urbanization experiences of particular tribal groups and whether membership in tribal groups that are dominant in a particular urban area affects cultural identity and cultural connectedness differently as compared to membership in non-dominant tribal groups.

Families in the study sample have also maintained a level of intergenerational and interpersonal cohesiveness that may not be typical of all urban Indian families. In an earlier small study of families in the Denver Indian community, it was common to see participants, equivalent in age and generation within their families to those of Generation 3 and 4 participants in the current study, exhibiting serious disruptions in interpersonal relationships with family members, at times to the point of total cutoff and disconnection from their families (Lucero, 2007a; Bussey & Lucero, 2005). The cohesiveness among members of study families across 3 or 4 generations may, in some way, have affected participants' engagement with the study phenomena. Thus, it is possible that more cohesive families transmit culture in distinct ways that result in a continuity of cultural identity and connectedness not seen in families that are less cohesive.

Finally, it is possible that my insiderness worked as a barrier in the recruitment of some families. Divulging intimate details of one's life, talking about family and personal struggles, and revealing how comfortable one feels with one's Indian identity to a person whom the respondent may never have to see again may be quite different than sharing this information with someone from one's own community. It is also possible that in some ways, those individuals participating in the study constructed their narratives differently for me than they would have for an outside researcher. I believe that there is a huge social desirability factor at work in relation to cultural identity and cultural connectedness when Indian people come together—we want other Indian people to see us as having a strong cultural identity and feeling good about being Indian, being knowledgeable about our own tribal culture as well as about American Indians in general, and being involved and engaged with other Indians. This social desirability may have

been present to some extent in the current study, although most participants shared aspects of themselves that could be considered both positive and less than positive, and they appeared to speak honestly and sincerely about their life experiences.

Conclusion

The movement of American Indians from reservations and tribal communities to urban areas began in the early decades of the twentieth century and gained increasing momentum from the 1950s onward. At present, the majority of American Indians live in urban areas, and the existence in many cities of sizeable and well-established communities of American Indians is readily acknowledged. Accordingly, the presence of large numbers of American Indians in urban areas calls for an updated examination of the experiences of Indian people in the urban environment, and awareness and consideration of the cultural issues that have arisen out of this diaspora, including the effects on cultural identity and cultural connectedness of the movement from tribal communities to large cities.

However, attention paid to urban Indian communities and the cultural needs of American Indians living in these communities has been relatively sparse compared to that given to reservation and tribal communities and their residents. Those studies on urban Indians that do exist are often many decades old and/or focused on the struggles and hardships of making the transition from reservation to city. Little contemporary research has been conducted with American Indians whose families have lived for many generations in the urban setting and whose lives revolve around city life.

This study now provides an up-to-date look at how members of a group of urban American Indians, over generations of urban living, have come to develop, maintain, and

understand their cultural identities. It also outlines how they achieve a sense of cultural connectedness while living away from the people and places where expressions of Indian culture have typically been considered to be found.

In reflecting upon this research endeavor, I have accomplished four goals that were at the heart of my desire to conduct this study. First, although urban Indians have been virtually excluded from research on American Indian cultural identity, I have now shared the experiences of one group, through their voices and perspectives. The study findings clearly present the most important aspects of identity and connectedness and reveal the cognitive, affective and behavioral constituents of each, as these aspects have been experienced by participants in this research.

Second, I have also succeeded in opening up a new area of inquiry concerned with what constitutes cultural connectedness and how it is achieved. Third, the findings of this study have implications for social work education and practice and have the potential to improve the well-being of many urban American Indian individuals and families. The new knowledge generated by this study may help agencies and those working with urban American Indians to design and provide services that are more culturally relevant, as well as assist practitioners in their efforts to be better informed and skilled at working with this population. And lastly, but also looking toward the future, this study has laid a foundation that will enable me to conduct additional research in these important areas that will continue to impact urban American Indians and their communities for generations to come.

Chukma hoke!

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APPENDIX 1. INTERVIEW GUIDES

Interview Guide/Generation 1

How did you come to Denver and what was that experience like?

Forty-five years (insert number of years since relocating) later, how would you describe the effect that relocating to Denver has had upon you as a (insert tribe, i.e., Navajo) person?

Please tell me about yourself as an Indian person.

How do you feel you may be different than someone from your tribe who continued to live on the reservation?

What do you think Indians living in the city do to stay connected to each other and their tribes?

While living in the city, what kinds of things have you done or have others done for you to help you remain connected to other American Indians, including people from your home reservation?

How do you think living in the city has affected your children and grandchildren as far as being Indian?

How do you feel about the term “urban Indian”?

What are the differences between Indians who live on their reservations and those that live in the city?

Interview Guide/Generations 2 and 3

Please tell me about yourself as an Indian person.

What does it mean to you to be an American Indian person?

Can you think of any experiences that have been significant for you as a Native person living in Denver?

How do you think you may be different because your family came to live in Denver and you grew up here? How do you feel you may be different than someone from your tribe who continued to live on the reservation?

How has living in Denver affected or changed your cultural identity—your sense of being American Indian—and your ways of being connected to other people and your tribe?

What do you think Indians living in the city do to stay connected to each other and their tribes?

What do they do to learn about being American Indian?

While living in the city, what kinds of things have you done or have others done for you to help you remain connected to other American Indians, including people from your home reservation?

While living in the city, what kinds of things have you done or have others done for you to help you understand what it means to be American Indian?

How do you think living in the city has affected your children and/or grandchildren as far as being Indian? How do you think it affected the generations before you?

How do you feel about the term “urban Indian”? What are the differences between Indians who live on their reservations and those that live in the city?

What do you think are the strengths of living in an urban area? The weaknesses?

Do you think that something important to your cultural identity and cultural connections has been lost as a result of growing up in a city? If so, please talk about what these things may be. If not, please tell me what has helped you avoid that loss?

What are some of the effects on you that you can identify as being a result of your family member's leaving his/her reservation and relocating to the city?

Interview Guide/Generation 4

Please tell me what ethnicity you would tell someone you are.

Please tell me about yourself as an Indian person.

Talk about what it means to you to be an American Indian person.

Talk about if you feel connected to your tribe, and if so, how?

What have you done to learn about your particular tribe?

How do you think you are alike or different from people your age who live on their reservations?

How might you have been as an Indian person if your family had stayed on your reservation?

How do you think you may be different because your family came to live in Denver and you are growing up here?

What do you think Indians living in the city do to stay connected to each other and their tribes?

What do they do to learn about being American Indian?

What kind of things do you do that make you feel or act Indian?

What kind of things do you think about that make you feel more Indian?

While living in the city, what kinds of things have you done or have others done for you to help you remain connected to other American Indians, including people from your home reservation?

While living in the city, what kinds of things have you done or have others done for you to help you understand what it means to be American Indian?

Some teenagers tell me that they don't like being Indian, that they don't like being different from other peers in school and in their neighborhoods. What do you think about this? Have you ever told someone you were an ethnicity other than American Indian? If so, why?

How do you feel about the term "urban Indian"? What are the differences between Indians who live on their reservations and those that live in the city?

What do you think are the strengths of living in an urban area? The weaknesses?

Can you think of any experiences that have been significant for you as a Native person living in Denver?

APPENDIX 2. EXAMPLES OF CENTRAL THEMES FOR EACH MEANING UNIT OF AN INTERVIEW

Instruction/Question (06-02-01-DL)	Natural Meaning Unit	Central Theme of Natural Meaning Unit (articulation of the theme)
1. How you identify your ethnicity to someone if they ask you?	<p>06-02-01-DL: I'm kind of a mystery man. IV: The mystery man. 06-02-01-DL: People look at me like, "Where are you from?" That's usually the first question they ask is where are you from. So I take that as being what nationality you are. IV: Okay. Exactly. 06-02-01-DL: And I always say, "I'm a half American Indian." And they say, "What's the other half?" I say, "Half Welsh." And they ask, "What tribe?" And I say, "[Names tribe]" and they say, "I've never heard of that." <laughter> IV: So you first identify as half American Indian and then will share your tribe? 06-02-01-DL: Right. IV: Okay. And then how do people usually react? Do they-- 06-02-01-DL: Very few people ask specifics, like, "Oh, did you learn something that's very traditional growing up?" Very few people ask that. But most people just kind of want-- where did you grow up? So I tell them my mother's basically full blood and she grew up in Oklahoma. My tribe's an Eastern tribe, and there was a migration west to Oklahoma. So. IV: And you were actually born in Oklahoma, right? 06-02-01-DL: My older brother was. IV: Your older brother. 06-02-01-DL: My younger brother and I were born in Minneapolis. IV: Oh, okay. Because your dad had gone there. 06-02-01-DL: Uhm.. uhm.. Took a job with Pillsbury. IV: Pillsbury. Okay. And then how old were you when you came to Boulder? 06-02-01-DL: First grade. '67, yeah.</p>	<p>1a. S.'s ethnicity is difficult for others to determine and when asked he says that he is half American Indian and half Welch; if asked he will say he is from the [name of] tribe. 1b. S. finds that people ask where he is from and he equates this with their wanting to know his nationality.</p>
2. Tell me about yourself as an American Indian man. What comes to mind?	<p>06-02-01-DL: Well, I was thinking about that question this morning, and I guess the way I want to answer that is that sometimes I felt like I don't really fit into this society, today's society. And I think maybe that's part of, you know, having Indian blood. Not, maybe, knowing my tribe's traditions, but just having that Indian blood in me, and because of that I'm a certain way. And so I kind of feel like the first thing that comes to my mind is that I may not fit into white society as well as the typical white guy. IV: Okay. What are some of the things that bring these feelings up? Have there been experiences or</p>	<p>2. S. feels like he doesn't fit into today's society as well as a white man may and attributes having Indian blood in him to making him a certain way so that he looks at the world differently.</p>

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	<p>06-02-01-DL: I think it's just more the way I think that don't really-- you know, there's definitely things that I enjoy about, you know, luxury things, but I don't really buy into the materialism of our society.</p> <p>IV: Okay. So a kind of different set of values?</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Right. And maybe a different way of looking at the world.</p>	
<p>3. Do you think people from the exterior looking at you say, "Oh, he's a little bit different?"</p>	<p>06-02-01-DL: Yeah, definitely, just because of the way I look, yeah-- darker skin, darker hair, that kind of thing. I don't look-- actually what I get a lot of is that I look like somebody's relative or you look my cousin or, you know. But they think I'm probably Mexican or Spanish, Italian, I get Italian a lot. Because I think a lot of people just don't really-- aren't really familiar with Indians. So the first thing that comes to mind is what they're familiar with, and in this area it's more Latinos and so they think, you know, I'm probably Mexican. And I experienced that a lot out in California, when I lived in California.</p> <p>IV: Okay. So that would make sense. Yeah. And I think in this area people are kind of more used to Indians looking a certain way, like people from the Dakotas or the Southwest.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: There's the stereotype about Indians with, you know, long, braided hair and, you know. It's kind of the Sioux look. You know? It's the Plains tribes.</p> <p>IV: The Plains look, right.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: And not many people know that much about other tribes really.</p> <p>IV: That's true. Okay. So as you're kind of going about your day and your life here, you're living in an urban area, and I'm interested kind of in getting the-- tell me more about this not fitting in, because that's a very common thing that a lot of people have told me. And I'll just ask you about one of the things that's been emerging as I've talked to people. It's that other Native people talk about being able to go and do everything you have to do in an urban area, and you go to work in the mainstream and, you know, you can negotiate everything you need to. But kind of inside it feels to them like they live in a different space. Does that resonate with you?</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Yes, it does, yeah. And then just looking different, too. I mean, I fit in. Obviously, I fit in, yeah. But, you know, because I do look different people wonder. And I think when you're growing up and you're a kid that, you know, it's a lot more important to you. You want to fit in. And if you look different, maybe it makes you a little more uncomfortable than when you're an adult. So I think when I was growing up, you know, kids found out that I was Indian and they were like, "Wow." you</p>	<p>3. People often think that S. is Mexican, Spanish or Italian because of his physical appearance, their lack of familiarity with Indians and that they hold a stereotyped Plains Indian image of how Indians should look.</p>

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	And they would say, “Oh, so that’s how you can run so fast,” and stuff like that.	
<p>4a. Other Native people talk about being able to go and do everything you have to do in an urban area, and you go to work in the mainstream and, you know, you can negotiate everything you need to. But kind of inside it feels to them like they live in a different space. Does that resonate with you?</p> <p>4b. So when I said about space, you kind of nodded your head and said, “Yeah, that kind of made sense” to you. So do you see yourself kind of, because you have a different value system and kind of a different world view, that you kind of exist a little bit separately or differently than other people?</p>	<p>06-02-01-DL: Yeah, I think so. You know, right now I’m kind of going through a difficult patch in my life, and I don’t know if it’s-- you know, I went through a difficult divorce. That’s the main part of it. And I moved back to Colorado recently, and so I’m going through a transition period. And then just being the age I am, too, being middle aged, maybe that’s contributing, too, middle age crisis.</p> <p><laughter></p> <p>IV: So you’re in this transition phase?</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Yes. So, you know, I think more than ever now I feel maybe a little unsettled. So maybe some of that is coming out because when I was working for the mayor of Denver I didn’t really feel the same way as I do now. But I think because of the situation I’m going through I’m looking at things differently, you know? And the stage of my life, I’m also questioning things and evaluating things. So I’m just not as settled as I have been in the past.</p>	<p>4. S. is going through a difficult time right now, feeling unsettled and as if he is going through a transition. Because of this he is looking at things differently.</p>
<p>5. So as you’re kind of reexamining things, are issues around your culture and your values related to your culture, does any of that come up?</p>	<p>06-02-01-DL: I think most of that comes up with kind of family dynamics. Because my mom, you know, is where I get my ethnicity from, my Indian is from. And she’s at the latter end of her life, and so we’ve kind of struggled a little bit. But that’s part of the reason why I wanted to live with mother was to be able to get to know my mother better, and we’ve kind of struggled with that. She doesn’t quite understand where I’m coming from. And I want to, you know, know more about her, I want to know more about the family, and it’s difficult for her to share those types of things to me. And that’s all about, you know, being Indian, too. I want to know more about traditions and-- because I didn’t really get much of that when I was a kid. We went to Oklahoma every year, at least once a year.</p> <p>IV: Oh, okay. Back where your relatives were?</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Uhm.. uhm.. So, I mean, that was very important, to spend time with relatives. But they were all basically, you know, acculturated, too. There wasn’t a lot of tradition. But, you know, there was still-- everybody talked about being Indian and, you know. I never went to the powwow but, you know, I think it would have been different if I lived in Oklahoma.</p> <p>IV: Okay. Because--</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: That level of culture.</p>	<p>5a. S. moved in with his mother to try to get to know her better and to learn about his family and their cultural traditions, but he finds that it is difficult for his mother to share these things.</p> <p>5b. S. feels that he needs to get this knowledge because as a child he didn’t get much of it; although he went back to Oklahoma once a year, he found that his relatives there were acculturated and the context lack tradition.</p>

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<p>6. If you thought you were different as a result of not growing up where other [names tribe] people are and then, if so, some details of that.</p>	<p>06-02-01-DL: Definitely. Think I probably would have gotten involved in the tribe if I was out in Oklahoma. IV: Like the political part of the tribe? 06-02-01-DL: Uhm.. uhm.. Yeah. Because I've been in politics for a long time, so-- and I worked at the Denver Indian Center as a board member, and I worked for [names organization] in Boulder, here. So I've done different projects. I worked on this Indian art project at DIA. IV: Oh, okay. So you've, even though you've been here in an urban area, you've done--this community. 06-02-01-DL: I've sought out other Indians. Yeah, I have. IV: Other Indians. 06-02-01-DL: When I went to CU, I had Indian friends. You know, I was involved with the Indian program there. IV: Okay. All right. So kind of going back, so you see yourself as different than a person from your tribe who had lived in Oklahoma, grown up in Oklahoma-- 06-02-01-DL: I think so. IV: -- and had that immersion.</p>	<p>6. S. sought out other Indians, both during college and while living in the urban setting. He ended up working in several urban Indian organizations and would have gotten involved in the politics of his tribe had he lived in Oklahoma.</p>
<p>7. Besides politics, other things that you would have maybe done?</p>	<p>06-02-01-DL: Another thing that always kind of bothered me was that my cousins had Indian names, and I never had an Indian name, you know? And I remember at one point I finally asked my mom about it, and it was-- she tried to, at the time the oldest living family member was my Aunt Ida, which was my grandmother's sister, and she was the one that gave the Indian names to my cousins. And so my mom, I think, talked with Aunt Ida about giving us Indian names, but it never came to anything. It was-- I don't know if she was like in poor health, didn't want to do it, or I don't know what the situation was. I never really heard. So I always felt kind of bad about that. IV: Yeah. So that was a tradition from your tribe also? To do Indian names? 06-02-01-DL: Yeah. IV: Okay. Yeah. So some of those-- it sounds like little, those-- they're not little, they can be huge pieces of culture kind of didn't come over here. 06-02-01-DL: Right. Right. And I think that's, you know, those types of things are important when you don't have your language, you know, you don't have a traditional religion. You know, those are the kind of basic things that, you know, give you more pride in your ancestry. IV: Now your tribe-- had your tribe lost their language for the most part? 06-02-01-DL: They're-- I think there were some more traditional [names tribe] that were living up in</p>	<p>7a. S. has felt bad because his cousins were given Indian names by the oldest living family member, yet despite his mother talking to her about doing this for him, he never received his Indian name. 7b. S. believes that when a group has lost its language and traditional religion, it is important to maintain other traditions in order to give members pride in their ancestry. 7c. S. feels that assimilationist policies and boarding school were responsible for his grandparents not passing traditions and language on to his mother, and for her not getting a lot of traditional knowledge.</p>

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	<p>living in the Bartlesville area of Oklahoma, northeast Oklahoma, there are very few that spoke the language. There was one woman-- I forgot her name-- that put together this tape of, you know, conversational [names language], and I do have a copy of that.</p> <p>IV: So there were not?</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Not a whole--</p> <p>IV: This is not just-- the loss of language is not just because your family came to Colorado. This is something that was happening in Oklahoma, too.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Oh, yeah. I mean, it happened. My grandparents, my mother's parents, spoke English as a second language, but they didn't teach the language to my mother or her brothers and sisters. And then my mother's grandmother was an herbalist so she's, you know, a pretty traditional person, but I think she still was a Christian but she kind of straddled both religions, you know, because of the herbalist. But, you know, my mother just wasn't-- I don't know if it was just the time that she grew up that it was kind of a time of assimilation, you know, the federal policy was assimilation. My grandparents went to boarding school, BIA boarding school, and so that was kind of the generation that was-- the language and the traditions were being forced out of the Indians. So my mom was like right after that period, so she didn't really get a lot of traditional-- and then at that time most of the [names tribe] were Christians in terms of religion. The last Big House ceremony was in the 20s, so.</p> <p>IV: Okay. Yeah, I think you're probably right about that because my mom and dad are pretty much the same age as your mom, and they're-- the way you just described your mom, I would describe my dad very much the same way. And so I do, I've always kind of thought it was-- had to do with that time in history where it really wasn't okay to be Indian.</p>	
8. No instruction given	<p>06-02-01-DL: Right. Even though Oklahoma, I think, is a little different because there's so many different Indian people there that even a lot of white people, you know, wanted to be Indian just because it was, you know, there's that kind of glorified stereotype, again, of Indians, you know?</p> <p>IV: Your mom had-- made the same comment about people, white people from Oklahoma, and so you've experienced that with--</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Oh, yeah. Yeah. I mean, even in our tribe, you know, you see people that are [names tribe] and, you know, you wouldn't recognize them as being Indian.</p> <p>IV: Yeah. I'm Choctaw so we're very much the same. Very mixed blood for a long--many</p>	8. S. has noted that there are members of his tribe who do not look Indian, and even among his siblings and cousins, he and one cousin are the most Indian looking and some others of them look very white.

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	<p>06-02-01-DL: Yeah. And then even my younger brother, you know, you couldn't tell that he had any Indian blood. My older brother and I are, you know, darker like my mother, but John took after my dad-- more my dad.</p> <p>IV: Yeah. Same thing. My younger brother and sister are the dark ones, and I'm-- look like my mother. Both my mother and dad are actually half Indian. My mother's from a Canadian Mohawk band. But again, there's a lot of mixed bloods there. So I took after looking at-- I don't know who.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Is this-- you have-- that Indian blood runs pretty thin. Genetics, you just never know.</p> <p>IV: Genetics is funny, but yeah.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Because I think that my cousin Jesse and I are probably the most Indian looking of the family, of the cousins. And, you know, some of my cousins that are-- like I have one cousin that has red hair, you know, and very fair complexion. You wouldn't know. But he has an Indian name.</p>	
<p>9. Amongst your brothers and sisters and your cousins and all, your generation, are there individuals who have really embraced their culture or tried to maintain that connection like yourself?</p>	<p>06-02-01-DL: Yeah. You know, it's a matter of degree, you know? Like I'm surprised that my younger brother, [name], who lives in Oklahoma, he has gone to the powwows and stuff like that, but it just doesn't seem like he really embraces the Native culture that much even though he's living there. And he's the one that looks, you know, least Indian of all of us. But then my older brother-- I look a lot like my older brother-- and, you know, he-- I don't know. I don't really get the impression that he has very much interest in his ancestry at all.</p> <p>IV: Okay. Okay are you the one of your siblings that has-- okay.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: The most, I think. Yeah. And my mom has given me some family items, you know, beadwork and things that, you know. Who I was named after was my great-grandfather, and so he traveled around to a lot of different tribes and had different, you know, people had given gifts for a visit and things like that, and so I got a lot of those items. And so that was something else that piqued my interest as well.</p> <p>IV: That keeps you connected to your family.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Yeah. Yeah.</p>	<p>9a. Of all his siblings, S. is the one who has stayed the most connected to his culture.</p> <p>9b. S. was named after his great-grandfather and S.'s mother gave him some items belonging to this grandfather's which piqued S.'s interest in his family and culture.</p>
<p>10. So you were alluding to the fact that it's been kind of hard to get information from your mom about your heritage, your family's experience and things like that.</p>	<p>06-02-01-DL: Yeah. Yeah.</p> <p>IV: What do you think that's about?</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: I can't really figure it out. I mean--</p> <p>IV: Okay, that's a mystery still.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: It is still a mystery. I think the only thing is that she looks at it, there's something that happened that is maybe not that positive, that she looks at as not very positive, and so she doesn't want to talk about it. It's-- I think it's a generational thing.</p>	<p>10. S. wants to learn more about the Indian side of his family before his mother passes away, but he has had a difficult time getting his mother to talk about his family's heritage and experiences; he attributes this to some negative event that may have happened that she doesn't want to talk about.</p>

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	<p>that's maybe something she learned from her mother, that you just don't talk about negative things. You know, you try to focus on positive things. For some reason, some of the family history, you know, I can just only speculate.</p> <p>IV: Okay. So that's what I thought I heard you say, but I wanted to check out, that perhaps some event or some negative or difficult thing happened in the family that has kind of kept her from wanting to</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Yeah. And, you know, even when I was younger it wasn't like she told me a lot about the family. You know, I didn't learn that my great-grandmother was an herbalist until, you know, until I moved into this place with my mom.</p> <p>IV: Wow, okay.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: You know, it's that kind of thing I've been trying to get out of her, you know, information that I'd never heard before. I just wanted to know who my relatives were because mom's not going to be here forever.</p> <p>IV: Right.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: And once that-- once she passes away, all that information's going to be gone, you know? She has a whole box full of pictures, and I have no idea who they are. She's told me a couple times who they are, but yeah, it's that kind of thing.</p>	
<p>11a. So did you grow up knowing you were Indian?</p> <p>11b. So at what point in your life did it then become important for you to understand more about who you were as a [names tribe] person and get that history?</p>	<p>06-02-01-DL: Oh, sure. Yeah. I mean, like I say, we went to Oklahoma, you know, at least once a year. And my father's side, I don't really know my cousins on my father's side very well. I mean, we probably-- just since I've become an adult I've gotten to know, you know, my cousins really. I mean, we went back there maybe just two or three times in my childhood so.</p> <p>IV: Yeah. So at what point in your life did it then become important for you to understand more about who you were as a [names tribe] person and get that history?</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: I just think that's just kind of a natural progression for anybody just to want to know yourself. It's a difficult thing to do, but that's a big part of me because-- I think it's for many reasons. But it's something I'm proud of, but it's also something that makes me unique. You know, people recognize me as someone different. And then they always ask me, so it just kind of reinforces who I am.</p> <p>IV: So there wasn't a particular time when you saw it may be important.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: I can't really say a particular time, but I just think as you get older you learn more about yourself. And since I was a young kid, I've always had an interest. I don't know if my mom told you the story about Tom [last name], that the--</p>	<p>11a. Ever since S. was a young child, he's had an interest in his tribal culture. When he was a teenager, S. was looking through a National Geographic and saw a picture of a man, Tom [last name], who was a [names tribe] Indian. His mother told him that this man was his great-great-great grandfather and so S. wrote to NG and got a copy of the picture. Later S. went to the Smithsonian and was shown a collection of Tom [last name] artifacts.</p> <p>11b. Since S. was a child he has felt that it was important to learn about himself as a [names tribe], and this desire has grown as he's gotten older.</p>

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	<p>06-02-01-DL: Yeah. And I was the one that got that picture for her. I was-- I don't know how old I was, I was a teenager. And I was looking through National Geographic, and there was this article about Chief Joseph and there's a picture of Tom [last name] there. And I was reading the caption and it said, you know, "Tom [last name], [names tribe] Indian." I went, "Oh, wow." I was really excited about it. And I go show my mom and she's just so matter of fact, she's like, "Oh, yeah. That's your great-great-great-grandfather." I'm just like, "What?"</p> <p><laughter></p> <p>IV: Whoa.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: You know, that's another example. I never knew any history like that. You know, it's something-- I just I fell upon it, and then I was just so excited that I wrote National Geographic to get a picture. And I ended up getting that blown up even though there's some kind of copyright infringement, I'm sure. But it is a family picture.</p> <p>IV: That's true. You belong to the family, so.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Yeah. So I had that enlarged for her for some kind of, you know, birthday or something. But-- and then, when I was living in D.C., I actually got into the Smithsonian where some of these Tom [last name] artifacts were being held, and we got to see them.</p> <p>IV: Oh, wow.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: So that was pretty neat.</p> <p>IV: Were they in-- on display or were they just there?</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: No, they have only like one percent of their items on display at the Smithsonian.</p> <p>IV: That's what I've heard.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: And they have this huge storage facility in Maryland, and we went there and they just had drawers and drawers of [names tribe] items. It was just amazing.</p> <p>IV: Oh, my goodness. That must be just an overwhelming feeling to see.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Yeah. So, I mean, that was a significant event. That happened, you know, when I was young. So, and then, you know, like I said, going to Oklahoma, just, you know, we'd see Indians there and, you know, it kind of made for us-- you know, that, so.</p>	
12. When you were here were you around many other Indian people?	<p>06-02-01-DL: No. There were-- about the only Indians were, you know, ones associated with [names organization] or, you know, maybe with a university. But growing up there were-- I didn't know many Indians.</p> <p>IV: Okay. But then it sounds like when you went to college you must have been starting to reconnect with other Indian people.</p>	12. Growing up S. didn't know many other Indians, but during college he became involved with the Indian program at his university, started to connect with other Indian people, and began to do research into his own tribe. He also began working for a national Native organization.

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	<p>college I was involved with the Indian program and they had, you know, Indian counselors that counseled the Indian students. You know? They had different kind of events, and so I had friends that-- and then I took Indian courses, too. I studied anthropology, cultural anthropology, so I did a lot of research into my own tribe for papers, you know, anthropology, so that was good. And I started working for [names organization] when I was in college.</p> <p>IV: Okay. So that connection is growing and it's like you're getting connected with other people.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Yeah, yeah. It's kind of a time of exploring, you know? That's when it really starts, when you're in college, I think. You're exploring a lot of different things and interests.</p> <p>IV: So, well, I imagine at CU there were Indian people from all different tribes in the student body.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Very small group.</p> <p>IV: It was? 06-02-01-DL: Yeah. See, I was at CU-- I graduated in '83, so '79 through '83.</p>	
<p>13a. You're probably, what, the only person from-- or only family from your tribe here or one of the few?</p> <p>13b. So how has that been as an Indian person who's trying to reconnect with other Indian people, being the only person from your tribe?</p>	<p>06-02-01-DL: As far as I'm aware of. You know, I don't really know of any other. I've never met any other [names tribe] in Colorado.</p> <p>IV: Okay. So how has that been as an Indian person who's trying to reconnect with other Indian people, being the only person from your tribe?</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: I guess the way I looked at it was that, you know, the Indian population in America is not that large to begin with, so there's more of this pan-Indianism. Where you reconnect with just other Indians. It doesn't matter so much, you know, tribes. I know that there's tribes that still have long-standing feuds that, you know, maybe they don't have the same philosophy but you know, in history, the Mohawks didn't have a great relation with the [names tribe] either. So-- but I don't hold that against Mohawks.</p> <p>IV: Okay. So the half-Mohawk side of me is not going to fight with you today.</p> <p><laughter></p> <p>06-02-01-DL: No. No.</p> <p>IV: No.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: So it wasn't so much that I missed [names tribe] Indians. It was just, you know, it was good to be right-- I felt a kinship with any Indian, you know? It wasn't so much that-- because I kind of looked at my tribe as being a tribe that was less traditional and that I was kind of seeking out more traditional people, so that meant that I was actually going outside my tribe.</p> <p>IV: Okay. That's interesting because sometimes, you know, this-- well, I think-- called pan-Indian in a very derogatory way, and then I've heard it used in a more</p>	<p>13. S. felt a strong kinship with other Indians and looked at himself more as an Indian than he did as a [names tribe]. Since the Indian population is not that large, reconnecting with other Indians is what is most important, not what tribe they are.</p>

Instruction/Question (06-02-01-DL)	Natural Meaning Unit	Central Theme of Natural Meaning Unit (articulation of the theme)
	<p>just thinking, you know, it sounds like from what you're describing to me that it's been a very positive experience for you to have exposure to people from other tribes. That it hasn't drawn you away from being a [names tribe]. You're still are a [names tribe] person.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Oh, I guess I maybe look more at myself as an Indian.</p> <p>IV: Okay.</p>	
<p>14. My tribe has a long history but, you know, our history now is, you know, a difficult situation.</p>	<p>06-02-01-DL: my tribe has a long history but, you know, our history now is, you know, a difficult situation because I don't know if my mom told you the history about when the [names tribe] moved to Oklahoma but now our tribe isn't even recognized by the government. So, you know, it's a situation now where-- and most-- you know, my mom is the last generation, you know, of full bloods. There's really not many traditional people left. So I think that's kind of the way the government wanted it.</p> <p>IV: Okay. Probably.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: That's the way they worked it out. And that's what's kind of happened.</p> <p>IV: Yeah, exactly. Okay. So in a sense, even if you wanted to go back to the traditions, they aren't really there.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: It's hard to go back at this point for my tribe. That's kind of the way I feel about it.</p> <p>IV: Yeah, that would make sense. So are you kind of being absorbed into the [names tribe] Nation or what's happening--</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Well, that's what they've done. We've become [names tribe] members. So it's kind of a-- it's kind of been a conflict between the [names tribe] and [names tribe] because at the time the [names tribe] were moved to the Indian territory of Oklahoma, all the land had already been divvied up, and so they put the [names tribe] tribe in with the [names tribe]. And so that's when we kind of lost our, you know, identification as [names tribe]. At one point in the 70s we did get our recognition back.</p> <p>IV: Oh, you did?</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: But we've lost it again recently, I think like the last eight years.</p> <p>IV: Oh, my goodness. Okay. That's interesting. I'll have to check into that. I didn't-- hadn't been aware of that.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Yeah. Yeah. And that's part of the thing that I haven't been really involved with because, you know, I'm here and not in Oklahoma and I don't get that much information. And, you know, our relatives here, you know, some have moved to Texas. And still have some in Oklahoma, but they're not really involved so much with the tribe.</p>	<p>14. S.'s tribe has been in a difficult situation since being moved to Oklahoma and they currently are not recognized by the U.S. government. The [names tribe] are being absorbed into the [names tribe] Nation.</p> <p>14b. S. has not been involved in the political aspects of his tribe because he has been here, but his mother and an aunt and uncle were part of the business committee at one time. If he were in Oklahoma he would have continued being involved as they once were.</p>

Instruction/Question (06-02-01-DL)	Natural Meaning Unit	Central Theme of Natural Meaning Unit (articulation of the theme)
	<p>really involved with the tribe. You know, like my mom was I guess the treasurer at one time of the tribe.</p> <p>IV: Oh, I didn't know that.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Yeah. It was more run like a business committee, and they called it the business committee, not more like a-- it wasn't a tribal council.</p> <p>IV: Oh, it wasn't even a tribal council?</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: No. It was more like-- they called it the business committee, so it was more run like a business, really. But my Uncle Bruce was on that and my Aunt Mary and my mom. And I think that's probably what, you know, I would have done.</p> <p>IV: Carried on that.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: And, you know, it-- we've had, you know, chiefs of the tribe, and we have chiefs of the tribe now. But at that time I think it was more of a business situation because they were going through that Indian Claims Commission, where there were lawsuits related to the original tribal lands. And so there had to be some kind of a legal entity to--</p> <p>IV: That could--</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Yeah. Yeah. I don't know. You know, at that time I was just a young kid. I didn't really know that much about it.</p>	
<p>15a. Living here in the Denver area, in what ways has that affected your, what would be called cultural identity, as an Indian person, how you see yourself as an Indian person?</p> <p>15b. I just really got a really good picture of that, how your aunt's place there really kind of kept the family and the cultural part of your family rooted.</p>	<p>06-02-01-DL: Well, I think when you're talking about [names tribe], it's just kind of like what I said before. It's that, because I'm not where the tribe is I don't have that same connection. I don't have the, you know, interaction with my tribe. So it's more me here, you know, isolated, especially in a community like Boulder that's so white. You know, there's not that much diversity to begin with. In Denver there's more of an Indian community. I mean, I connected with [names organization]. I mean, that's why I did that, because that was like the only Indian group and then at the university. So I think growing up here as an Indian you're just isolated more.</p> <p>IV: Okay.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: You know, I know there's big problems on a lot of reservations as well, and that's a challenge. But in terms of culture, you know, there's more traditional people there so you can, you know, if you can overcome all the other problems of, you know, substance abuse and unemployment and all those things, at least you have contact with traditional people that, you know, you can learn the language and keep their traditions alive and things like that. But when my tribe didn't even have a reservation, it's not like you're going back to some place where you can feel like it's home and that there's tradition. So when we went back to Oklahoma, that was like the closest thing we had to. like. returning to a</p>	<p>15a. S. has felt isolated from other Indians living in the city and sees that despite the problems on a lot of reservations, there are a lot more traditional people there who can help one learn the language and keep the traditions alive and this can even overcome the problems.</p> <p>15b. S.'s tribe does not have a reservation and so his family would go back to Oklahoma to an Aunt's large ranch for family gatherings and this functioned like their reservation. When his aunt died the family was not able to keep the ranch and they have no longer have a place that brings them together.</p>

Instruction/Question (06-02-01-DL)	Natural Meaning Unit	Central Theme of Natural Meaning Unit (articulation of the theme)
	<p>traditional roots.</p> <p>IV: That's a really interesting point, Steven, and it's different than other people I have talked to, who do have a really big, recognized reservation, whether it's in the Dakotas or Navajo or something, that you don't have that to go back to as a-- or as something that calls you back.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: And my Aunt Mary, she was kind of like the head of the family, and she had this beautiful ranch in Oklahoma and it was just a really big gathering point. Whenever we went back to Oklahoma, we would always stay at Aunt Mary's and everybody would congregate at Aunt Mary's and we'd have big, you know, family gatherings, and that was kind of like our reservation, really.</p> <p><laughter></p> <p>IV: I was just going to say it sounds like what some other people I've talked to about-- in their-- like, they have a big extended family that lives in a certain part of their reservation and everybody's from their family that lives there, and that's where you would go. And they don't go any other places on the reservation. So it creates that anchoring spot.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Yeah. And I think Indians have to have that connection to land, and that was it, was Aunt Mary's ranch there. And it was kind of sad that we lost that because she passed away and I think it was in 2000, and another-- I don't even want to get into that but it was unfortunate that that wasn't able-- that property wasn't able to be kept in the family because ever since then, you know, there's been no gathering point for the family. You know, we've tried. You know, people have smaller houses so you go there and not everyone can fit, you know. There's really not a lot of room where you can, you know, run around and stuff. I mean, she had, like, Uncle Joe and Aunt Mary at one time had over 1,000 acres.</p> <p>IV: Oh, my goodness. Huge.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: And then he was one of the big ranchers there in that area. And then she leased a lot of land off, but I think she still had at least close to 400 acres around her house, you know, so.</p> <p>IV: Wow.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Yeah. It was a nice spot.</p> <p>IV: Okay. So now you don't have anything that's replaced that that can draw the family together?</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Uhm.. uhm..</p>	
<p>16a. What is that going to do for your children? You have children, right?</p> <p>16b. So, like, with your nephews, is that going to somehow impact their ability</p>	<p>06-02-01-DL: No. No kids.</p> <p>IV: Okay, you have nephews?</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Yeah.</p> <p>IV: Okay. That's your older brother's kids, right?</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Uhm.. uhm..</p> <p>IV: In Connecticut?</p>	<p>16. S. believes that the cultural connection for the generation that follows his has been broken because the family no longer has its gathering place and because his nephews do not physically appear Indian and can</p>

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	<p>stepson.</p> <p>IV: Okay. So, like, with your nephews, is that going to somehow impact their ability to--</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Well, see, they don't even know the nephews in Oklahoma or in Texas, you know? They-- I can't remember a time when they went out there. So they, you know, that's not-- that family connection's broken there. And that's what I'm talking about, is that you don't have this gathering place. And, you know, the only reason that I'm close to my cousins in Oklahoma was because we went down every year and we had that gathering point and we, you know, had all kinds of fun. But with my nephews now, you know, I don't know if they identify with being Indian. I mean, you saw the pictures over here of blonde-haired, blue-eyed kids, you know?</p> <p>IV: Yeah. And your mom told me she went out there to speak at their school.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Give a talk.</p> <p>IV: To talk at their school, but their connection is really getting tenuous it sounds like.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Yes. Right. And they don't have the same thing I do, where people identify me as being different. You know, they just blend right into white society. But, you know, even if I didn't want to acknowledge my Indianness, my ancestry, you know, it's hard for me to ignore just because people look at me like, you know, I'm, you know, I'm a minority.</p> <p>IV: You're not white.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Yeah.</p> <p>IV: Exactly. Yeah.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Even though they may think my name is Juan, you know? Pedro or something.</p> <p><laughter></p> <p>IV: Sure. A good Italian name or something.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Yeah.</p>	
<p>17. What are those things that you've done in your own life to stay connected as an Indian person to other Indian people and to Indian culture?</p>	<p>06-02-01-DL: I think I've kind of already touched on many of them, you know, working at [names organization].</p> <p>IV: Working at [names organization].</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Being a part of the Indian Center in Denver.</p> <p>IV: We'll have to talk about that.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Yeah, okay. And, you know, serving on that panel, that art panel. And when I worked for [the mayor] in Denver, I was kind of his Indian representative. And I actually had a secretary who was also Indian, so we were like the two token Indians in the administration. So we had a lot of fun.</p> <p><laughter></p> <p>IV: All right. Who was your secretary?</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: She was an Arapahoe. Her name was [xxxx]. What was her-- [name].</p>	<p>17. S. connected to other Indian people and Indian culture through his work at [names organization], the Denver mayor's office and as an Indian art dealer, and through his involvement with the Denver Indian Center.</p>

Instruction/Question (06-02-01-DL)	Natural Meaning Unit	Central Theme of Natural Meaning Unit (articulation of the theme)
	<p>06-02-01-DL: Do you know [name]?</p> <p>IV: I know who she is.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: You know [name]?</p> <p>IV: Yeah.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Yeah? Is she still around?</p> <p>IV: I haven't heard her name in a long time.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Yeah. She left when her father passed away, and she lost her job as a result of that. She just, you know, she'd get so upset about it and she just left, didn't tell anybody, and they couldn't get a hold of her. So it was a bad situation.</p> <p>IV: So you've kind of gotten involved in different community kinds of service, community service kinds of things.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Yeah. And then just personally I, you know, I do a lot of reading, you know? So-- and then, you know, I did-- I used to be an art dealer, and I dealt in American Indian historical art. Not artifacts.</p> <p>IV: But art.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Art. You know, like mostly items that were made by Indians-- well, they were totalitarian, I mean, utilitarian items where they would, you know, make-- like Cherokees would make baskets for-- they couldn't afford to buy pots so they would make a basket to hold things in, you know. So I would sell stuff like that.</p> <p>IV: Okay. So not just paintings, but--</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: No. Navajo textiles.</p> <p>IV: Artwork and different--</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Yeah. Beadwork that was made for, you know, everyday use.</p> <p>IV: That must have been fascinating.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Yeah. Yeah.</p> <p>IV: Wow. So that kept you really connected I'm sure with lots of different people from all kinds of tribes.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Yeah. Although there weren't that many Indians that were doing that, you know.</p> <p>IV: Doing?</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Selling that kind of thing.</p> <p>IV: Selling, okay.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: It was mostly white people. But they were sensitive to Indians so, you know.</p> <p>IV: Okay. Excellent. Good. And reading. Other kinds of things that you do that aren't, like, activities but more internal kinds of things? You said reading.</p>	
18. What your life means and where you're going.	<p>06-02-01-DL: Well, in terms of my spirituality, I mean, I don't really feel like I have a religion. I was raised in the Christian church, but I just never had any kind of connection there. It just didn't feel like it was right for me, and that was one thing that I always felt like, you know, that was taken from me, that my traditional ways were taken from me and that it was just hard for me to, you know, find that again just</p>	<p>18a. S. feels that something has been missing in his life and that it is related to his traditional ways having been taken from him and how hard it is to find them again.</p> <p>18b. S. was once engaged to and wanted to have children with an Alaska Native woman he met at the Denver</p>

Instruction/Question (06-02-01-DL)	Natural Meaning Unit	Central Theme of Natural Meaning Unit (articulation of the theme)
	<p>think, that's kind of been missing in my life.</p> <p>IV: Okay. I'm trying to think where else we can go with this because you've really covered a lot of pieces of most of what I was asking here.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: You didn't talk about-- you mentioned kids. You know, I don't have any kids.</p> <p>IV: You don't have any kids.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: But I did-- I was engaged to an Indian woman when I was 27. She was from Alaska, a Native Alaskan. And, you know, I was thinking about that. I wanted to have Indian kids. And so I met her at the Indian Center, and it just didn't work out. But I did get married. I married a half-Mexican woman, and I thought that would be something that would be, you know, she had a similar upbringing to me, but she was-- her mother was Mexican instead of Indian. But there's, you know, similarities, and so I thought that might be something that would work, but that didn't work either.</p> <p><laughter></p> <p>IV: So that's what you're-- that's the divorce you were talking about?</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Yeah.</p> <p>IV: Getting through that.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Yeah.</p>	<p>marrying a half-Mexican woman instead and that marriage recently ended in divorce.</p>
<p>19. Do you think there's any strengths or positives to being a Native person who's living in an urban area, has left their reservation?</p>	<p>06-02-01-DL: Well, are you talking about somebody that's left the reservation to come to--</p> <p>IV: Or growing here-- growing up here. They're just not living on their tribal area.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: It's hard for me to speak for somebody that, you know, lived on a reservation because I never lived on a reservation. But I can imagine that, you know, I've known people that lived on reservations. This woman that I worked for-- worked with at [names organization] was Sioux. She came from Rosebud. And, you know, she just wanted to escape all the problems on the reservation, so they moved to Boulder. And, you know, they still had problems in Boulder, but I think they felt like it was a positive move to escape those problems and, you know, high unemployment and all that. So I can see a positive thing in one respect, you know, escaping some of those problems to come to an area and experience more prosperity and more opportunities educationally, I guess, for your children, something like that. But, you know, from my perspective, I don't really have that experience where I lived on a reservation, so I don't know. I wasn't really escaping anything. So my experience is living, you know, in white society. And, like I said before, I kind of just felt like I never really quite fit in. And I don't know if that was because I was an Indian. I think partly it was, but maybe other people-- maybe it's just the way I</p>	<p>19. S. has never lived on a reservation but can imagine what it is like because he has known people that have. S.'s experience has been one of living in white society where he has felt like he never really quite fit in, partly because he was Indian.</p> <p>19b. S. sees coming to the city as a positive way to escape problems on the reservation and to be more prosperous and have more opportunities.</p> <p>19c. S. has experienced subtle discrimination because he feels that people have looked at him as and have treated him as if he were Mexican. He has not been discriminated against for being Native because people do not look at him as an Indian.</p>

Instruction/Question (06-02-01-DL)	Natural Meaning Unit	Central Theme of Natural Meaning Unit (articulation of the theme)
	<p>personality, you know? But.</p> <p>IV: Well, I have to share this with you. I don't know if it will make you feel any better or not, but almost-- I've talked to, like, 20 people now, and almost to a person they've said kind of the same you did. It's like they do okay here, but there's just-- they don't just quite mesh or fit in. A lot of people have used the exact words. "I don't really fit in. I can get along. I can adapt. People who would look at me would think I'm not having any issues with anything. I just go through my day. But there's part of me that's not quite all connected to that." So that-- is that kind of what you're saying?</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: 06-02-01-DL: Yeah. Yeah. Yeah. And not only did people look at me different but I felt like they treated me different, too. I'm not really saying discrimination, but maybe subtly. Maybe subtly it was discrimination. I don't know. I don't really think people, you know, I've felt discrimination in my life, but it was more because people thought-- probably thought I was Mexican, you know? It wasn't like they were discriminating against me because they thought I was Indian. Because I think very few people, like I said before, you know, look at me as an Indian. They kind of look at me like, you know, where's that guy from, you know?</p> <p>IV: I like the mystery man.</p> <p><laughter></p> <p>IV: Where's that mystery man from?</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: When I went to Europe when I got out of college and I was in Italy and Italian tourists would come up to me and ask for directions. They thought I was Italian.</p> <p><laughter></p> <p>IV: So you can just kind of fluidly go-- fit in other places, but not here.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Yeah. So that's a, you know, that's a positive thing.</p>	
20. So you haven't directly really experienced racism, discrimination directed at you?	<p>06-02-01-DL: Because of being an Indian.</p> <p>IV: Because of being Indian.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: No. It's just more because of the color of my skin.</p> <p>IV: Because you're perceived as a minority or something?</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Right. Right. You know, like after 9/11, you know, I was at the airport and they-- people thought I was Arab, I think, because, you know, they were like really giving me the look over. And I was always the person that was taken at random, you know, for the special check.</p> <p><laughter></p> <p>IV: That makes me think of-- well, it's been quite a few years but some time after 9/11. Sherman Alexie.</p>	20. S. has not experienced racism or discrimination because of being Indian but rather because of the color of his skin.

Instruction/Question (06-02-01-DL)	Natural Meaning Unit	Central Theme of Natural Meaning Unit (articulation of the theme)
	<p>telling jokes about that, that he's like the generic brown guy.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Yeah.</p> <p>IV: But every time he goes to the airport, he's Arab And he gets pulled out and--</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Yeah, exactly. Exactly. That's kind of a good description of me, too. Generic brown guy, yeah. He probably has long hair though, doesn't he?</p> <p>IV: No.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: No, he doesn't?</p> <p>IV: No, he had kind of like shoulder length hair, so yeah.</p>	
<p>21. So drawbacks, we talked of any drawbacks to living in an urban area. You did mention, you know, it's harder to find the traditions, find the culture.</p>	<p>06-02-01-DL: Yeah, it was just, you know, growing up in Boulder, there just wasn't that much diversity, you know? That's one thing I liked about L.A. was that, you know, there's just so much diversity. And so when there's more diversity, I think not only the white people are more open to other people, but it's just that you just have this true melting pot that just seems a lot more comfortable for me. You know? People are more accepting differences instead of being afraid of them. And so I think that was a disadvantage of growing up in Boulder was that I felt very different because of the way I looked. Because it was so white. And, you know, even when I was, you know, going through the difficult years of, you know, teenage years, you know, like dating girls, even, it's like people would try to set me up with like the token Chinese woman that I had no interest in just because she was a minority, you know?</p> <p>IV: I didn't know that about Boulder, so being a non-Boulderite and kind of just things you hear about Boulder there's kind of an image, though, that, from the outside looking in, that Boulder's supposed to be very inclusive and--</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Yeah. Well, it's kind of that liberal bias, you know. Because you've got this very intellectual population here, but it's mostly white. You've heard about the problems with the football team. You know, they-- a lot of the blacks have, you know, experienced a lot of discrimination. And I think a lot of that, too, is not necessarily the community of Boulder. That problem up there is more with the students that are coming from other parts of the country. I think that's where that's from. So you have, you know, these feelings or ideas of discrimination or racism that are being transported from other areas to this area because they're, you know, spoiled rich kids coming here to go to school, you know.</p> <p>IV: And so does that kind of gets-- those attitudes kind of get supported or reinforced by this very white community?</p>	<p>21. Growing up in Boulder, S. did not encounter as much diversity as when he lived in Los Angeles; he found that being amongst this wide diversity was more comfortable for him and that having grown up in a very white community had been a disadvantage.</p> <p>21b. S. sees that the discrimination and racism in Boulder is not necessarily the community but that it is brought in by university students coming from other parts of the country.</p>

Instruction/Question (06-02-01-DL)	Natural Meaning Unit	Central Theme of Natural Meaning Unit (articulation of the theme)
	<p>you know, it was like a separate thing. The university and the town, you know? I mean, that was like-- if you were-- my parents would say, you know, have a good time. Just don't go up to the Hill, you know. So we'd go shoot right up to the Hill.</p> <p><laughter></p> <p>IV: Of course. Even when I was in high school, and I'm a little older than you and was from Evergreen-- I was going to school in Evergreen-- to sneak away and go to Boulder and go to the Hill, oh, that was really about as bad as you could get.</p> <p><laughter></p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Yeah.</p>	
<p>22. So we've covered just about everything there, so any final thoughts or--</p>	<p>06-02-01-DL: Well, it's just, you know, I think maybe what I said before. It's going to be a very sad time, you know, when my mom's generation passes because it's going to be kind of like the ending of our tribe, really. You know, it's kind of like the Last of the Mohicans type situation, you know? It's the passing of an era. And, you know, our culture is-- traditions have passed quite awhile ago. You know, it's more like you have to read it in books, you know, to-- that's how I've learned about it, you know. I didn't get much information from my mom, so I had to go out and look for it myself. So I got it from-- traditions from other Indians or, you know, read about it.</p> <p>IV: So even with your wanting to embrace the culture and traditions.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: It's hard.</p> <p>IV: You're not-- your generation isn't really going to be able to do very much with it.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Yeah. And then, you know, like my-- both my brothers married white women and, you know, those kids are-- it's going to be more like an afterthought, you know? You know, my grandmother was Indian. You know? They're not going to identify with being Indian, you know? It's just kind of a unique thing. Oh, my grandmother was an Indian, you know?</p> <p>IV: We make fun of Cherokee people because they say, "Oh, my great-grandma was an Indian princess" kind of thing</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Exactly. Yeah. Yeah.</p> <p>IV: So that could be a very big reality for--</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Yeah. And that's just-- that's kind of the way things are with that original people. You know, it's hard to overcome the dominant society.</p>	<p>22a. S. believes that his tribe's traditions passed away a long time ago and because he didn't get much information from his mother, in order to learn about Indian culture he has had to go out and look for it himself by reading books and learning traditions from Indians of other tribes.</p> <p>22b. S.'s brothers have married white women, and he believes that his nephews are not going to identify with being Indian and instead will think of their Indianness as just having a grandmother who was Indian.</p>
<p>23a. So your experience as an Indian man from your tribe who's going through a different experience, does that change your cultural</p>	<p>06-02-01-DL: I guess I don't really understand the question.</p> <p>IV: Yeah, I'm just seeing all these different pieces of it. Are you a different Indian person because your tribe is losing their traditions and not able to get them</p>	<p>23. If S. had lived in Oklahoma, he feels he would have had more connection to his culture, but he sees that his mother's taking the family back to Oklahoma every year was a way of</p>

Instruction/Question (06-02-01-DL)	Natural Meaning Unit	Central Theme of Natural Meaning Unit (articulation of the theme)
<p>23b. Are you a different Indian person because your tribe is losing their traditions and not able to get them back? Are you experiencing Indianness differently than-</p>	<p>than-</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Oh, yeah. Well, I'm less traditional, you know, than maybe somebody that, like I said before, had that connection to their tradition because they lived on the reservation. And, you know, maybe if I said, you know, if I lived in Oklahoma I could have had that connection. There's also another part of the [names tribe] tribe that lives in Anadarko.</p> <p>IV: Oh, okay. That's a pretty strong Indian area.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Exactly. Yeah. And so there may be some more traditional [names tribe] there. My aunt lived there. But I just think that, you know, just because of where I grew up and my mother's experience that, you know if my mom had no interest in her Indianness, she wouldn't have taken us back to Oklahoma. That's what she was doing. She wanted us to not only-- well, family is the most important thing for my mother, so I think it's more like a family thing, but it's also related to being Indian. She wanted to have us connected with that. And so, you know, she was successful in that regard, at least with me, you know. And then my younger brother lives in Oklahoma, so that's why I'm surprised that he's not more involved. But, you know, I think if you did live in Oklahoma, you know, he'd just be a white guy, a complete white guy. So, you know, maybe that's-- he's got something from living there.</p>	<p>Indianness that worked for him. S.'s believes that if his younger brother did not live in Oklahoma, he would be completely white, so living there has helped his brother maintain some degree of connection to being Indian.</p>
<p>24. That's also another commonality that you share with the families I've been talking to. I've talked to families that started coming here in 1945, and so all the way down through the late 60s. But almost every family has gone through this long period where they go back to their reservation. Any-- you know, once a year. Some families once a month, every other, you know, every other week, things like that, for exactly the same reasons you're talking about. It's like you stay connected to your family and that's who defines you.</p>	<p>06-02-01-DL: Right. And I found when I was going to CU and I had these Indian friends, and not only the ones that I knew fairly well but it just seemed to be the pattern that the Indian students would not finish in consecutive years. I think it was mostly a financial situation, but a lot of it was that they missed their families, too, and they missed, you know, it was such a foreign environment coming to Boulder and going to school than, you know, being on the Navajo reservation or wherever that they would have to, you know, take years to finish their college degree just because they kept, you know, going back and forth. They would drop out and then come back the next year, two years or whatever.</p> <p>IV: Yeah. I think that must drive educators of Indian students in college crazy everywhere because I know we deal with that at DU. It's like getting Indian kids to graduate.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Well, don't you think that maybe it's part of the whole, the stereotype about Indian time is somewhat true? Because Indians will do something when the time's right, you know.</p> <p>IV: Exactly. It took me 19 years to finish my bachelor's degree.</p> <p>06-02-01-DL: Yeah?</p> <p>IV: So I'm trying to do my Master's and Ph.D. much</p>	<p>24. S. gives two examples of where Indian values clash with those of the dominant culture and cause Indian people not to fit in: 1) that Indian students take a longer time to graduate from college because they keep going back and forth to the reservation, and 2) that his secretary abruptly left her job and went back to the reservation for an extended period when her father died.</p>

Instruction/Question (06-02-01-DL)	Natural Meaning Unit	Central Theme of Natural Meaning Unit (articulation of the theme)
	<p>06-02-01-DL: So there you go. <laughter> 06-02-01-DL: Eighteen years. IV: Yeah. <laughter> IV: Oh, I hope not. But yeah, that is, that needing to stay connected in whatever way you do I think does-- that overrides what-- the example of your secretary. Her father passes away, and that's what's important. 06-02-01-DL: Exactly. And see, that's another example of not really fitting in, you know, because white people can't understand that. IV: That you would just leave everything. 06-02-01-DL: Yeah. They look at that as being irresponsible. It's not looking at the most important thing in your life is your family and that you need to be there with your family. You know, she maybe could have handled it differently but, I certainly wouldn't have-- I would have tried to contact her and, you know, she'd eventually contacted the office, but it was like two weeks later and they basically said, "Sorry". There was no kind of understanding whatsoever. So-- and that's, you know, a difference in culture. IV: Yeah, that's been my experience of working in non-Indian agencies and Indian agencies is that at least in the Indian agencies we can understand that people do things like that. And it's not that they don't care about their job or they're not responsible or they're-- But that's where their value system is. 06-02-01-DL: Yeah. That's right. IV: So it does, it makes it hard. I guess the workplace is one place it's really hard to sometimes fit in as an Indian person with some things.</p>	

APPENDIX 3. GENERALIZED DESCRIPTIVE STATEMENTS

FROM THE PHENOMENOLOGICAL REDUCTION OF A PARTICIPANT NARRATIVE

(Note: The numbering of each item in the table below corresponds to a number originally given to each meaning unit in the participant transcript and coded as such in Atlas.ti. This system was used in order to link related components during the phenomenological reduction process and to facilitate locating sections of the transcript in order to extract quotes that could be used to illustrate the structure or style.)

General Structure of Cultural Identity	General Style of Cultural Identity	General Structure of Cultural Connections	General Style of Cultural Connections
<p>1c. Ethnic identity and nationality can be seen as synonymous and relate to where a person is from.</p> <p>1d. Aspects of Indian identity are related to the place where one's people are from.</p> <p>2a. One aspect of identifying as Indian results is feeling one has a different value system and looks at the world in a way different than whites and other non-Indians.</p> <p>3a. Non-Indians are unfamiliar with the variations in physical appearance of Indian people.</p> <p>3c. American Indians are often judged by non-Indians to be of another ethnicity or nationality because of their dark skin and hair.</p> <p>4a. Issues related to one's Indian identity can be deeply emotional.</p> <p>5a. Subsequent generations see elder family members as holding information on</p>	<p>1a. American Indian people can maintain a simultaneous identification with Indians, in general, and their specific tribal group.</p> <p>1b. American Indian people can maintain a simultaneous awareness of both their Indian and non-Indian ethnic identities.</p> <p>2b. Because an Indian person operates from a different value system and looks at the world differently, he/she may feel that they do not fit into today's society.</p> <p>3b. Non-Indians often evaluate how connected American Indians are to their culture on how closely they resemble what is thought to be a typical Indian phenotype.</p> <p>4. Issues related to one's Indian</p>	<p>1d. Aspects of cultural connectedness are related to the place where one's people are from.</p> <p>4b. Issues related to how connected an Indian person feels to his/her culture can be deeply emotional.</p> <p>7a. Language and traditional spirituality are foundational aspects of maintaining connections to one's tribal culture; when these have been lost it becomes even more important to continue to practice other tribal traditions which are still alive.</p> <p>7c. Practicing tribal traditions is an important aspect of cultural connectedness.</p> <p>7e. Assimilationist policies and boarding school are responsible for past generations of Indian people not passing language and traditions down to subsequent generations.</p>	<p>3b. Non-Indians often evaluate how connected American Indians are to their culture on how closely they resemble what is thought to be a typical Indian phenotype.</p> <p>4b. Issues related to how connected an Indian person feels to his/her culture may rise to the forefront during times of personal difficulty or life transition.</p> <p>5d. Seeking out knowledge of family history and tribal traditions are ways of reconnecting with one's tribal culture.</p> <p>6b. Urban Indians who intentionally set out to find other Indians can connect with them through school programs, involvement with Indian community projects and/or by working for organizations or agencies that are Indian-related.</p>

<p>5b. Relatives who still live on the reservation may themselves be acculturated and lack knowledge of tribal traditions that.</p> <p>5e. Indian identity is a dynamic process and family members may play a part in providing knowledge and information that can help one better understand their Indianness.</p> <p>6a. Urban Indian people may identify in a general way with other Indians, regardless of tribal affiliation.</p> <p>7b. Practicing tribal traditions is an important aspect of one's Indian identity.</p> <p>7d. There is a connection between Indian identity and pride in one's heritage.</p> <p>8a. There is variation within families as to how much some members "look Indian" and others "look white".</p> <p>8b. Attention is paid to one's physical appearance and how much that approaches what is considered to be "looking Indian".</p> <p>11b. Aspects of Indian identity can be found even in young children.</p> <p>11c. Young children and teenagers who know what tribe they are from feel there is some</p>	<p>to the forefront during times of personal difficulty or life transition.</p> <p>5a. Life experiences related to being Indian can prevent these elders from being able to share what the younger generations are looking for as they attempt to understand their Indianness.</p> <p>5c. Seeking out knowledge of family history and tribal traditions are ways of strengthening one's Indian identity.</p> <p>6a. Because urban Indian people may identify in a general way with other Indians, it may be important for them to seek out other Indians, regardless of tribal affiliation.</p> <p>7b. Practicing tribal traditions is an important aspect of one's Indian identity.</p> <p>8a. Individuals compare themselves and other family members against some standard of "looking Indian".</p> <p>8c. "Looking Indian" can result in one feeling more identified with his/her culture than an Indian person who "doesn't look" Indian.</p> <p>10a. Knowing specifics about</p>	<p>of Indian families may be more interested in and connected to their tribal culture than others.</p> <p>9b. Family and historical items serve to connect an individual's to his/her tribal culture.</p> <p>10c. It may be difficult for older family members to share information about the family due to difficulties or negative experiences they do not want to talk about.</p> <p>12a. As children, some urban Indians may have few connections with other Indians outside their families.</p> <p>12b. Social, school and work relationships with other Indians can create a feeling a cultural connectedness.</p> <p>13b. Connecting with other Indian people, regardless of tribe, is an important part of feeling connected to one's culture.</p> <p>15d. The reservation or tribal community serves as a place that connects family members, not only to one another, but to the culture and its representations such as language and traditions.</p> <p>16a. As an individual comes to look more "white," it becomes more</p>	<p>traditions is an important aspect of cultural connectedness.</p> <p>9c. Interest in one's tribe, it's history and other aspects of Indian life demonstrate cultural connectedness.</p> <p>10b. When one does not know about, or has difficulty finding out about one's tribal culture and family experiences, it is difficult to feel as culturally connected as one could.</p> <p>12c. School and work settings give urban Indians opportunities to connect with other Indians and learn about their own and others' tribal cultures.</p> <p>14b. It is difficult to be involved in the political life of one's tribe when one lives in an urban area, but serving the tribe in some capacity is a form of connection to one's people.</p> <p>15c. Returning to one's reservation or tribal community is an action which can give an individual a sense of being connected to his/her culture.</p> <p>15e. The reservation symbolically links family members together and anchors them to a location.</p> <p>16b. As an individual comes to look more "white," it becomes more difficult to be</p>
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<p>themselves and others from their tribe.</p> <p>13a. If an urban Indian person is from a tribe where there are few, or no, other members living in the context, the individual may develop a stronger generalized Indian identity than specific tribal identity.</p> <p>13c. Having connections with other Indian people, regardless of tribe, is an important part of an individual's Indian identity.</p> <p>14a. It can be difficult to maintain a strong tribal identity when outside forces are breaking down one's tribe's identity.</p> <p>15a. Cultural identity is tied, in part, to the area where an individual's tribal family is from.</p> <p>18a. Practicing cultural traditions is an aspect of cultural identity.</p> <p>18b. Marrying and having children with another Indian person is one way to express cultural identity.</p> <p>19a. Indian people are often thought of as being members of other ethnic minority groups and because of this face discrimination aimed at those groups.</p> <p>19b. American</p>	<p>and family experiences can support the development of one's cultural identity.</p> <p>11. Seeking out information about one's ancestors and/or artifacts related to one's family or tribe are part of Indian identity development; finding this information strengthens identity.</p> <p>11b. Indian identity continues to unfold from childhood onward.</p> <p>13d. Although an individual may belong to a certain tribe, there is a sense of kinship with Indians from all other tribes because the size of the Indian population is so small. This results in looking at oneself as being Indian rather than as a member of a particular tribe.</p> <p>15b. Returning to one's reservation or tribal community is an action which can strengthen or affirm an individual's cultural identity.</p> <p>18a. Practicing cultural traditions is an aspect of cultural identity.</p> <p>18b. Marrying and having children with another Indian person is one way to express</p>	<p>as Indian.</p> <p>16d. As individual members, or generations, of families become more mixed blood ("white"), cultural connections can be weakened by these individuals' abilities to blend into or be absorbed by the dominant culture.</p> <p>18c. The disconnection from traditional ways can leave an individual feeling there is something missing in his/her life that would be difficult to get back.</p> <p>18d. Marrying and having children with another Indian person is one way to maintain cultural connections.</p>	<p>including other Indians, as Indian.</p> <p>16c. Being able to maintain connections to one's reservation or tribal community either through active family relationships or physically going back is an aspect of cultural connectedness.</p> <p>17a. Seeking out other Indian people demonstrates a level of cultural connection.</p> <p>17b. Employment at organizations that are involved with Indian issues and involvement with Indian community organizations can provide individuals with a sense of connection to other Indians and Indian culture.</p> <p>18d. Marrying and having children with another Indian person is one way to maintain cultural connections.</p> <p>18e. It may be difficult for an individual to regain or find the tribal traditions that are a part of him/her feeling they are culturally connected.</p> <p>21. Living in a large urban area with a great deal of racial diversity may be less difficult for an Indian person than living in a smaller community that is predominately white.</p> <p>23b. Returning regularly to one's</p>
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<p>often mistaken by non-Indians as being Mexicans.</p> <p>19c. Identifying as Indian may leave one feeling he/she does not fit in in white society.</p> <p>20a. Dark skinned Indian people are often mistaken for other ethnic minorities due to their dark skin and coloring, and because of this they may experience discrimination and racism.</p> <p>22b. When there is no longer a strong connection to tribal traditions and practices in a family, children of mixed heritage are likely to lose their Indian cultural identity and in its place simply consider themselves to have Indian ancestors.</p> <p>23a. There is a connection between Indian identity and living on or being on one's reservation or tribal community.</p> <p>24. The value systems of Indian people may be in opposition to those of the dominant culture, and this can leave Indian people feeling that they do not fit in.</p> <p>25. Relationships with other Indian people in urban areas can assist others to find jobs and become more involved in and</p>	<p>19c. Identifying as Indian may leave one feeling he/she does not fit in in white society.</p> <p>22a. When a tribe's traditions have been lost, one strategy its members employ to maintain their Indian identity is to learn about and practice the traditions of another tribe.</p>		<p>homeland is a strategy for maintaining a family's connection to their culture and of passing the culture on to children.</p>
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activities and people in their urban Indian community. 25. There is a web of social relationships between Indian people that exist in urban Indian communities that can support individuals to be more connected to their culture and their community.			
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APPENDIX 4. INDIVIDUAL DESCRIPTIVE SYNTHESSES OF CULTURAL IDENTITY STRUCTURES AND STYLES

Charles—Family 1/Generation 1

Charles identifies himself to others as American Indian even though he describes himself as a mixed blood person with a low blood quantum. His mother was White and his father Indian although also with European ancestry. Charles considers his having been “born and raised an Indian” on his Northern Plain reservation, more so than the amount of Indian blood he has, to be what most makes him American Indian. His mixed blood status was problematic for Charles when growing up on his reservation, but it never seemed to be an issue within other Indians with whom he lived in the city.

Charles believes that his Indianness has always been solidly internalized and not dependent upon where he lives, and thus it was unaffected by his leaving his reservation to come to live in the city. He does not remember ever having had to do anything to maintain his Indian identity during the many years he’s lived in the city. What did change for him in the city was that he began to develop friendships not only with Indians from his tribe, but with those from many different tribes, as well. In the city Charles found that being Indian was what was most important, and that it didn’t matter to him what tribe his Indian friends came from.

Jason—Family 1/Generation 2

The decision to embrace his Indian identity, rather than some other identity that may have been available to him, was a conscious choice Jason made in his twenties after realizing that he was proud to be a Native American. His identity was also a choice

that was influenced by a lifetime of associations with other Native people and his own unique experiences, both good and bad, related to being Indian. Jason believes that he is “growing up” into his Indian identity as he passes through the years of his adult life, and he considers this to be the way that identity develops for Indian people. He also feels that Indian identity is based, in part, upon each individual’s experiences of being American Indian, and he recognizes that Indian people may express their Indian identities in many different ways, all of which he accepts. Therefore, Jason does not see Indianness as being based upon some set of experiences common to most, if not all, Indians.

In order to find out who he was as an Indian person, Jason asked himself two questions: “Who am I as an Indian person?” and “Who do I want to be as an Indian person?” In the way he thinks about his identity, if he had chosen to identify as a traditional person, this would have meant that he would have had to reject the values, ideas, and ways of living of mainstream society, and this did not seem realistic to him. Therefore, his answers to the questions he asked himself led him to believe that having an Indian identity while living in an urban area would require him to cope with the demands of modern society as well as engaging in efforts to maintain his heritage and traditions. As a result of his efforts to understand who he was, Jason came to see himself as not being totally in the Native world, nor totally assimilated into the dominant culture, and therefore, needing to balance Indian and non-Indian ways of being regardless of whether he is in the city or on the reservation.

Indian identity, for Jason, is not solely about maintaining one’s traditions and connections to one’s heritage, but is instead about a balance between engaging with

Indian culture and engaging with modern society. It includes a bicultural or cross-cultural awareness that allows him to differentiate between Indian and non-Indian ways of being and interacting. As such, Jason considers that his Indian identity rests in a middle place between being a traditional and reservation-based Indian and an assimilated and urbanized one, and that it incorporate aspects of both the Indian and non-Indian worlds. Despite the balance that Jason feels in his cultural identity, he also believes his Native identity sets him apart from non-Indian society, as well as making it difficult for non-Indians to understand and engage with him.

Jason has tried to allow his Indian identity be a natural part of him rather than something he purposely tries to construct or control. He has found out who he is as an Indian person through personal exploration rather than by receiving it from the outside. Thus, he holds his cultural identity at a very core place in his being and this identity structures who and what he is. This internalized identity is also quite stable and is tied neither to the reservation nor the city, but has evolved out of knowing both worlds.

Jason's identity does not change whether he's in the city or on the reservation—wherever he is he is Native American because his core Indian identity gives him the ability to move back and forth easily between the Indian and non-Indian worlds. And, in this way, Jason has solved the dilemma of feeling torn between living totally in a Native way or living totally as a non-Indian, and feeling that he fits neither into the mainstream society or nor into reservation life. He sees that living in this middle places gives him a sense of having more control over his life, and he believes it allows

him to live a healthier and more stable lifestyle than if he were solely in one world or the other.

Jason also believes that Indian people possess an inherent adaptability that allows them to maintain a stable core Indian identity while living in an urban area. He attributes his ability to constantly shift back and forth between thinking and acting like an Indian person in one situation to thinking and acting like a non-Indian in a different situation, while always maintaining his core Indian identity to the stability of his deeply internalized Indian identity. For example, Jason understands in what situations it is appropriate to deal with someone in the city using traditional Indian ways of social interaction and in what situations it is not. As part of his adaptability, he also teaches himself new ways so that he continues to be grow and change, and he feels that this makes him different from people on his reservation who he sees as being held back or stuck because they aren't changing.

The ability to “live Native”—to have first internalized Indian values so as to then be able to use them to structure and order one's thinking and behavior, regardless of setting—is an aspect of Jason's core Indian identity that is with him all the time.

Indian values and traditions also help Jason to organize and stabilize his sense of self in relation to the non-Indian world. He stays balanced when living in the non-Indian world by holding on to Indian values and traditions he learned while growing up, and it appears to him that this differentiates him from the younger generation of Indian people who live on the reservation and seem not to care about living by these values.

Jason's Indian identity is not based upon his high blood quantum, but rather upon an internalized sense of being Native. Jason thinks that how strongly one feels

Indian “inside,” rather than one’s blood quantum level, is what should determine whether a person is Indian or not, and so he does not use blood quantum as an indicator of whether he or any other person is Indian. In fact, he relates more to the low blood quantum person who feels and acts very strongly Indian than he does to the full blood person who acts like a non-Indian.

Jason feels that he has constructed an emotional “Indian space in the city” in which he is able to be Indian in the ways most comfortable to him and where he has control over how much and in what ways aspects of the dominant culture impact his Nativeness.

This space was not a conscious construction but something that developed naturally by itself over the years, and which has now become a permanent part of his Indian identity. Once he recognized he had this space, he was able to grab hold of it, follow his feelings and utilize it from that point on.

Now Jason lives in such a way that being Native is who he is and what he is, so his core Indianness is unaffected by the greater degree of assimilation he sees in other members of his family with whom he has close ties. Jason’s Indian identity is strengthened and maintained, in part, by his choice to associate with other Indian people. He feels that he is much like them, even those whose lifestyles are not like his. Living in an Indian way all the time, not just at Indian activities like powwows, is what he does to demonstrate that he is a real Native American.

As an urban Indian, Jason feels the pull of assimilation into the dominant culture and it is important to him to resist this. To avoid becoming assimilated himself, he first identified what assimilation looked like in other Indian people, and then employed strategies such as holding onto his traditions and heritage, using the skills

that the traditions teach, and not acting like people in mainstream society. In addition, always fighting to have his ethnicity properly recognized by others, despite repeated instances of ethnic misidentification, is yet another tactic that has helped him resist assimilation.

Rejection of dominant culture institutions, especially those that have played a historical role in the oppression and assimilation of Indian people, is an important aspect of Jason's Indian identity. For example, as his Indian identity developed, Jason rejected his Catholic upbringing because of its connection to the assimilation of Indian people. Despite taking this stance, he considers his Indian identity to be neither traditional nor assimilated, but to have arisen out of a cognitive and emotional place that is in between these two extremes. As such, he believes that his Indian identity not only protects him from being assimilated into the dominant culture but from negative aspects of modern Indian life, such as substance abuse, as well. Thus, because of his core Indian identity, Jason feels that he did not become as assimilated as other members of his family despite seeing some of the negative aspects of Indian family life. And, he has resisted the urge to distance himself from his Indianness as a way to escape from those negative aspects, and as a result he has been able to remain strongly connected to who he is as an Indian person.

Angela—Family 1/Generation 3

Although Angela's mother and father are from two different tribes, she identifies as being from her mother's tribal group because she was raised by her maternal grandparents. In addition, she relates to the time she spent with them as a child as being important in helping her develop a sense of who she was. As a matter of fact,

Angela has always known that she was Indian—it was stilled by her family and reinforced by her home environment—and even during her early elementary school years, she remembers that she had a core sense of Indianness even though she wasn't living around other Indians.

Later, during her middle school years, Angela didn't talk about being Indian. Because she lived in a city with a large Hispanic population, people just assumed she was Hispanic, and at the time she didn't challenge this. Consequently, Angela came to believe that “looking Indian” is important to outsiders' judgments of whether a person is Indian or not, and as a result she wishes that her physical appearance, and that of her daughter, were more recognizably Indian. Still today, Angela finds that many people look at her and incorrectly assume she is Hispanic.

Angela believes that the urban environment offers Indian people choices of cultural identities to embrace. In addition, Angela considers Indian identity in the city to be different than Indian identity on the reservation because in the urban area being Indian in a collective sense is what defines Indianness. As an adult, she has chosen to develop her tribal-specific identity in addition to continuing to identify with Indians in a general sense, as she had while growing up. Her experience is that her ability to hold both a tribal-specific identity and a shared or generalized Indian identity has helped her to successfully connect with other Indian people in the urban setting where she lives. Angela's cultural identity, however, is more complex than simply having tribal-specific and shared Indian identities. In addition to these, she describes herself as an “urban convenience Indian” and sees her enjoyment of the resources of the city as part of an urban-specific Indian identity.

Angela further details her tribal-specific identity as a “band-specific” identity. Because Lakota people have descended from different bands, she considers them to be different from one another, and because of this she does not identify as being Lakota in a collective sense. She understands that it is difficult for most urban Indians to develop a band-specific Indian identity, so she considers that it is more typical for urban Indians to have both a tribal-specific and an intertribal Indian identity. Angela’s band-specific identity is an internalized type of identity that is not tied to a particular space while her urban Indian identity is spatially connected. She deems that the fullest expression of her band-specific identity will occur at the point when she is able to understand and practice the spiritual traditions of that band—something she not been able to do to this point.

Angela “thinks all the time” about being Native and about her cultural values, and this reinforces her Indian identity. She distinguishes her tribal identity as being tied to the cultural values of her mother’s tribe, and she believes that living by tribal values is a critical part of Indian identity. Another important part of that identity is her “Lakota strength,” which she defines as the ability to adapt in whatever environment she may be in, to be successful in the mainstream culture while still holding onto Lakota values, and passing the culture down to the next generation. This part of her cultural identity requires that she be able to be “independent”—to do what she needs to and make choices for herself while still depending upon and helping others. In addition, because such a large part of her identity is built around the concept of Lakota strength, Angela sees this as the way individuals from her tribal group should be and thus judges the tribal-specific identity of others from her tribe by this standard.

An aspect of Angela's identity is constructed around copying the behavior of her mother who was woman Angela considered to exemplify the Indian value of helping other people in the community. Angela has strengthened her Indian identity by working with Indian people and through this work has come to identify more with other urban Indians. She now works in an agency that provides services to the urban Indian community, and she attributes her ability to get along well with other Indians there to something inherent to Indian people about the way they are when together. Involvement and work in the Indian community is such an important aspect of her Indian identity that Angela is willing to sacrifice some aspects of her family life to this involvement.

Prior to taking her current position, Angela worked in situations where she was the only Indian person on the staff. In these settings, identifying as Indian caused her to feel different and self-conscious, and it would still continue to do so because she believes she is not yet at a point where she is confident about how to handle non-Indians who expect her to have a level of knowledge about Indians that she doesn't feel she has. However, Angela's Indian identity is not a salient factor in her comfort level in school or social situations with non-Indians, only in work and professional settings.

Much of Angela's own cultural identity development has been spurred by the desire to transmit her family's culture to her daughter. Of late, her teen-age daughter has sought out experiences related to being Indian, and so Angela has become more actively involved in the cultural identity development of her daughter. Thus, Angela has found herself participating in these experiences and finding in the process that her own

Indian identity has also grown. Angela supports her daughter's choice to embrace only her Indian heritage and to not identify with the Latino heritage she carries from her father, and Angela is willing to defend her daughter against those who criticize her for not celebrating and embracing the full extent of her heritage.

Christina—Family 1/Generation 3

As a baby Christina was adopted by non-Indians who, as she was growing up, made sure she knew she was Indian and from which tribe her biological family came. She was raised in a multicultural neighborhood where no special emphasis was put on being one race or another. Later, during high school, Christina contacted her tribe to get enrolled and was given the name of her biological mother. She then sought out and reconnected with biological family members who, like she, lived in Denver. Her desire to find her biological family members stemmed from a desire to know who she was as an Indian person. Despite making this reconnection, though, she experiences what she calls “identity issues” related to whether she can legitimately identify herself as Indian or not.

When asked how she identifies her ethnicity, Christina responds with, “Native, in a general sense.” But, for her, identifying fully or specifically as an American Indian is dependent upon knowing about and being involved in Indian culture. Since she grew up around people from many different races and her adoptive parents stressed that she “just be herself”, so as a result, she came to consider her Nativeness to be just one piece of who she was rather than something that defined her identity. Christina also feels that while growing up she did not have a choice of whether to identify as Native or not because of her lack of cultural knowledge and involvement,

and thus, she found herself in a difficult middle place in between being Indian and being non-Indian.

At present, Christina remains conflicted about embracing her Indian identity because she believes that in order to do so, she must first learn many things about her culture that she doesn't yet know. In a seeming contradiction, Christina avoids embracing her Indian identity because she doesn't know about her cultural ways rather than embracing her Indian identity as a way of moving toward learning more about her culture. She also remains unable to completely identify as either Native or non-Native because she feels she is stuck in between trying to meet the cultural expectations of her non-Indian adoptive parents as well as those of her Indian biological family. Instead of undertaking to learn more about her culture, Christina, instead, has put her efforts into developing a very "personal" identity. She uses this identity as a way to avoid the conflict that arises for her around identifying as Indian.

Christina also relates identifying as Indian with looking phenotypically Indian—in her case she looks Indian but doesn't identify as such. Because she looks like her biological sister, as well as her mother and father, and all of them are Indian, this gives her some greater sense of being Indian. But despite this, she feels she can't identify as Indian in the same way they do because she is less involved in the culture than they are. Christina also believes that growing up in an Indian family is an important part of what allows a person to identify as Indian, and she feels a sense of loss and that she cannot fully identify as Indian because she did not grow up in her biological family.

When she was a teen-ager, Christina had her first opportunity to associate with other Indian youth, but these young people had very strong Indian identities and this triggered identity issues for her. She attributes this to the fact that she considered being Indian to only be a part of her identity, while it seemed this was these other Indian youths' complete identity. This experience also reinforced for her that she didn't feel Indian. Now, however, she can be in situations with other Indians with whom she has no personal emotional connection and in these cases she is comfortable with her physically appearance being enough to identify her as Indian. In these types of settings her identity issues do not become troublesome to her because she doesn't feel she has to identify internally as Indian. Thus, she has become capable of feeling like she fits in with other Indians, but in her mind, fitting in is not the same as identifying as Indian.

Finding her biological family has not helped Christina resolve the issues with her cultural identity; instead, this reconnection has brought up many conflicted feelings about whether she is Native enough to identify as Indian. Now in her mid-30s, Christina is still ambivalent about embracing her Indian identity and Indian culture, and she is aware that the longer she feels ambivalent, the guiltier she feels for not taking steps to learn about her culture and eventually develop her cultural identity. As a way of managing her ambivalence about embracing her cultural identity, Christina identifies many obstacles in her life (such as financial and relationship responsibilities and requirements for a certain order in her life) that feel insurmountable to her and that must be resolved before she can begin to address the issues with her Indian identity. If she decides to identify as Indian at some future point, Christina wants this identity to be a choice she made as a result of knowing about her culture. She acknowledges that

by expecting herself to know a great deal about her culture before she can identify as Indian, or become more involved in activities that would help her acquire this knowledge, she has erected a huge barrier to moving forward. As such, she has currently put the development of her Indian identity on hold and is concentrating on developing her personal identity. She has taken this course of action because she considers her past work on her Indian identity issues to have been so difficult that at present she doesn't feel that she has the strength or energy to tackle it again. In the end, however, Christina feels that learning about her culture will eventually lead her into being able to freely make a choice about whether or not to embrace her Indian identity.

Vickie— Family 1/Generation 4

Vickie is biracial, but she identifies more with her American Indian ethnicity, of which she is very proud. She expresses her pride in being American Indian both externally, by attending social gatherings and Indian community events, and internally, by repeating the message that being Indian is a good thing. Vickie has multiple Indian identities. She identifies as a member of her tribe, with other Indians in a collective way, and as an urban Indian. It is important to Vickie to distinguish herself as belonging to her band of the larger tribal group of which it is a part, and she has begun to identify herself to others by that band name rather than as Lakota. She considers a person's Indian identity to arise out of, and be tied to, the people on one's reservation. At the same time, Vickie feels she also belongs to a larger group of urban Indian people, where what tribe a person is from does not matter.

Vickie expresses her Indian identity primarily by doing things that are focused on Native culture. She has synthesized her experiences from many kinds of activities related to being Indian, rather than the effect of any one particular activity, and it is this synthesis that strengthens her Indian identity. For Vickie, a crucial aspect of being Indian is learning about her culture and taking part in cultural activities, something she judges to be easier to do on the reservation, although when making this observation, she has little actual experience in that setting from which to draw. Vickie thinks it is easier and more natural to live as an Indian person on a reservation, and there is something important to one's Indian identity that is tied to that context. So, she believes, when a person lives in an urban area, she or he has to deliberately set out in search of her Indian identity and work to develop it, whereas if this person were living on the reservation and solely with people from her or his own tribe, it would be much easier to find that identity.

Vickie recently made her first trip to her family's reservation. While there, she felt comfortable and as if she fit in, and came to see that she was not too much different from others her age that lived there. At the same time, however, she realized that she also holds a different perspective on life than that of her reservation-based peers because of the different influences present in the urban context in which she is growing up.

Fitting in with other Indian young people is an important part, for Vickie, of being proud to be Indian. She attends a Native-focused public school and finds that it has been easier for her to be Indian there, because she has a peer group of other Indian students in contrast to when she attended other schools where she was the only Indian

student. Although her ethnicity is something she is proud of, there is a part of it that is private to her and that she does not want to have to explain. When she was the only Indian student in her school, she would sometimes identify by her other ethnicity, because she did not want to have to explain about being Indian. In those settings, she also found it difficult to identify as Indian because doing so made her stand out and feel different.

Vickie has some friends who do not want to identify as Indian, because at school, they do not have other Indians to form a group with, and they do not want to not fit in somewhere. Others of her friends are reluctant to identify as Indian, for fear of being treated badly because they are Indian. It is important enough to Vickie to identify as Indian that she is willing to take the risk of being treated badly simply because she is Indian. She states that resistance is an aspect of her Indian identity. For example, she resists acts of discrimination by trying to confront and educate non-Indians about Indian experiences.

In addition to her Indian identity, Vickie also has a dominant culture identity. These two identities are not two separate pieces of her, but rather “work together to create her.” When interacting in the world, she does not think around whether things she does fit or do not fit with her conception of being Indian, but simply whether they fit for the self she has created, which integrates both Indian and non-Indian sides. Because she has integrated both Indian and non-Indian aspects into her personal identity, she sees herself as not that different from her non-Indian friends. This also allows her to see them as not distinguishing any difference between her and them, which in turn increases her sense of fitting in. However, even when doing things in the dominant

culture and with non-Indian friends, she maintains a sense that she is Indian. Her involvement in both the Indian and non-Indian worlds has given her the ability, at her young age, to distinguish that there are differences related to culture that bring people to think about and see certain issues in very different ways.

Belinda— Family 2/Generation 2

Extended family members on the reservation, including her great-grandmother and maternal grandparents, laid the foundation for Belinda's Indian identity, which she believes arose from their support and culture they imparted. She identifies herself solely as an Indian although she is a mixed-blood person who is half Indian and half White. Her identity is not determined in any part by her blood quantum, but instead is based on being part of a family from her tribe, as well as her relationship to other Indian people in the urban Indian community in which she has lived since she was a child. Also, being Christian, in the positive way she experienced it and that it was expressed on her reservation and in her extended family, is an important element of Belinda's Indian identity. Whereas she was not exposed to traditional spirituality while growing up as a young child on the reservation, she also does not reject this element. Instead, she describes herself as an Indian person who is "non-traditional," and her identity is not tied to being a person who participates in traditional spiritual practices.

Belinda experienced acceptance by members of her reservation community despite her status as a mixed blood child. She believes that this acceptance created a strong foundation of Indianness, and because she was able to bring this with her from the reservation to the city, it has sustained her through difficult and trying times and protected her from alcoholism. For a long time, Belinda identified being Indian with

being a drunk, and she married into a Hispanic family because she had vowed to never be involved with an Indian; this family, however, also had many members who were alcoholics. Today, Belinda proudly sees that one facet of her Indian identity is constructed around being a person who has never been an alcoholic or addict, and this part of her Indian identity inspires her to help individuals and communities overcome addiction.

Belinda is aware that many Indian families have close relationships with one another, but this was not the case with her family, and thus, this is not a part of her Indian identity. Instead, she recognizes that her cultural identity is related to important things she internalized while growing up on her reservation: exposure and connection to Indian culture, learning the Indian values that she has incorporated into her life, and a sense of belonging to an Indian community. In the end, Belinda is comfortable with the Indian person she has become, and she understands that her Indian identity will always be tied to her relationship with her community and her relatives back on the reservation.

Maryann— Family 2/Generation 3

Maryann has two ethnic identities, American Indian and Hispanic, and she has continually tried to balance both of them. She has always known that she is American Indian because her family in no way tried to hide or deny it, and so she has never been ashamed of being Indian. Instead, she would question her grandmother about the older woman's Indian experiences as a way of learning about being Indian. Because her grandmother always answered, it seemed to Maryann that the family was open about being Indian.

Maryann holds both a shared American Indian identity and a tribal specific one.

Although she identifies her mother and grandmother as being Indian and considers her identity as an Indian person to come through her grandparents and not through a connection to the reservation, Maryann's tribal-specific identity is tied to being a member of her tribe rather than to being a member of her particular family.

Maryann feels equally Indian whether she is in the city or on the reservation. Although she was born and raised in an urban area, she feels she still has a strong Indian identity; she describes herself as a "mixed heritage urban Indian woman." She considers Indian blood to be something that stabilizes Indian identity and that her Indianness is not changed or diminished by having lived her whole life in the city. In fact, Maryann has constructed an Indian identity that is connected to being an Indian person from the city where she lives, in much the same way that a reservation-based Indian person might identify as being from a particular tribal area.

Being a biracial person has always felt very natural to Maryann. It would feel strange to her to have to identify with just one of her ethnicities. At the same time, however, she has always wanted to be Indian. Additionally, her cultural involvement and experiences of being Indian have happened in relationship to her mother and grandmother, with whom she has a better and strong relationship than she does with her Latino father. These factors have led her to identify more strongly with her Indian side even though her intention has always been to balance her two ethnic identities.

While growing up Maryann did not think much about her family's Indianness because being Indian was so much a part of their lives that it felt natural and normal. In their day-to-day lives, members of Maryann's family were immersed in their

Indianness and expressions of Indian culture were all around her as she was growing up. She developed a sense that there were certain ways that Indians did things that were distinctly different than the ways non-Indians did them, and these became internalized parts of her Indian identity. Abusing alcohol was also a part of her family's Indian identity, and she now believes that members of her family used abused alcohol in a way that was consistent with the stereotype of the drunken reservation Indian, even though they lived in the city.

Maryann has not spent time thinking about what it means to be American Indian; it is "just what she is". She never considered being Indian to be anything special or thought that it made her that different from others she grew up with in her multicultural urban neighborhood. Racial and ethnic differences were not extremely important to Maryann's parents and she doesn't recall Indianness being a topic of special discussion in her family. Instead, she remembers her parents instilling in her an acceptance of people for who they are, and their setting an example by having friends who were from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds. This brought Maryann and her siblings into regular interactions with people from many different cultures, and as a result she took on the perspective of her parents. An exception to believing that her Indianness wasn't anything out of the ordinary, occurred, however, in relationship to her urban Indian community. Here, in contrast, she felt that she and her mixed-blooded family members were seen as different by those who were full bloods, and thus were less accepted.

Maryann believes that she was protected from most instances of prejudice or racism because she was not that different from the other people she grew up with in

her multicultural neighborhood. Her family members did not talk directly about their experiences of racism, so as a younger person Maryann did not link times when she may have been treated badly or unjustly to the fact that she was Indian or Hispanic. Looking back now, however, Maryann can see that while growing up she experienced discrimination, but she attributes this as happening more because of the color of her skin or because she was Hispanic, that she does to its being because she was Indian. For many years Maryann didn't see herself as sharing any commonalities with the reservation-based Indians she saw being treated differently when she went back to her reservation, and thus she did not internalize that she too, might be treated differently because of her ethnicity. It was as an adult that she first experienced a situation in a border town near her reservation where she was able to clearly identify that she was being singled out because she was Indian. While at the time this made her feel uncomfortable, it reinforced her belief that people discriminate against urban Indians because they hold a stereotype that all Indians are like those living on reservations. Maryann believes that reservation-based Indian people are very different from Indians in the city. She focuses on the material poverty of the reservation and then perceives that the people there also suffer from an emotional poverty and sense of being trapped that is unlike her experience as an urban Indian person. It seems to her that those who live on the reservation accept the movie and media stereotypes of them, and in contrast, urban Indians realize, because of their different experiences, that these stereotypes are inaccurate. In fact, Maryann believes that urban Indians have debunked these negative stereotypes by haven broken free of the demoralizing effects of the

reservation. Thus, Maryann believes that her grandparents created a good life for the family by leaving the reservation and starting a new life in Denver.

Melissa— Family 2/Generation 3

Melissa identifies her ethnicity to others as Native and Latina. She makes a distinction between ethnicity and her identity; her Native ethnicity is her genetic heritage, and her identity is who she is as an individual, separate from her ethnicity, culture, and other Indian people. Melissa is proud of both her ethnicities and has never wanted to, nor felt she had to, favor one of her ethnic identities over the other. She feels she now maintains two equally balanced ethnic identities and this is unproblematic for her. She displays pride in both her ethnicities by displaying images of them on clothing and other accessories she wears.

It is difficult for people to identify Melissa's ethnicity from her phenotype and people often even misidentify her as White. Because of this, she can move one of her identities into prominence, depending upon the situation. She has unconsciously developed criteria that she uses to determine in what situations and with whom to identify as either Native American or Latina. Due to the fluidity of her ethnic identities, she has developed strongly internalized Native and Latina identities that do not depend upon external confirmation.

Melissa feels she is Native American no matter where she lives and she identifies more as an Indian person, generally, than as a person from her specific tribe. Her sense of being Indian is not connected to her tribe or their land base. When referring to her ethnicity, she uses the collective "Native American" rather than her tribe's name.

However, she describes her Indian identity as very individual and personal rather than tied to her connection to other Indian people.

Melissa's Indian identity came about through her identification with her mother and grandmother and the values they stressed. She describes them as "very strong women," and identifies with their independent spirits and strong work ethics. As a teen-ager, however, Melissa began focusing identity-related activities on developing her unique personal identity; and both her Native and her Latina identities began to fade in importance as her individual identity took prominence. She describes now having a general moral compass that structures her identity from the inside; and she employs a cognitive strategy to maintain that identity, which positions general, not tribal nor cultural, moral standards and an orientation toward accomplishment as the main constituents of her personal identity.

In her late teen years, Melissa participated in the Job Corps and this brought her into contact for the first time with reservation-based Indian peers from tribes other than her own. As a result of these contacts, she began to see herself as being fundamentally different from Indians who live on their reservations. She saw them as prejudiced against Whites and other non-Indians, whereas she was not and was able to get along well with everyone. More importantly, she wanted to better herself and get more out of life; and in her view, most of them did not. To her, they seemed content to remain on the reservation and lacked the drive to make a better life for themselves, as her grandparents did by leaving their reservation, a move that also protected her from becoming a drunk or dying at a young age. From that point forward, she has emotionally distanced herself from reservation-based Indians by firmly holding onto

the belief that she is not like them: She is more self-sufficient, hardworking, and better able to take advantage of opportunities to advance herself because she grew up in an urban area.

Melissa has always identified being Indian with being poor, and her Job Corps experience reinforced that perspective. To counter this, Melissa developed her personal Indian identity around being a hardworking, independent, and accomplishment-oriented person who believes in herself. She strongly believes that her grandparents' leaving the family's reservation gave her the chance to be a better person than she would have been had she grown up on the reservation.

Marie—Family 3/Generation 2

Marie's Indian identity is a core part of her that was established early in life and is not defined by or connected to being physically located on her reservation. In her words, she can be Lakota anywhere. Marie is an American Indian person of mixed heritage, and although during high school she identified somewhat with Chicanos, which gave her a sense of being part of a social group, as an adult she identifies solely as Lakota. To her, this identification expresses her relationship to people from all of the bands of the Lakota, not just her specific tribal group, and increases the scope of her cultural identity and relatedness to other Lakota people. Learning the meaning of the Lakota people's traditional name was a piece of Marie's cultural identity development which instilled pride in her about her identity. Because of this, she does not identify herself as American Indian in the collective or shared sense but instead asserts her tribal membership and her relationship to all Lakota people and in doing so affirms her cultural identity.

Having knowledge of who are her relatives on the reservation, as well as their individual familial relationships to her, is an important part of Marie's cultural identity. Purposely taking steps to maintain this knowledge, despite living off reservation, strengthens her identity. She identifies herself as a member of a large and well-known family from her reservation, where she feels she fits in because of these familial ties as well as her status as a tribal member. Marie's Indian identity is based in large part on seeing herself as similar to members of her large extended family who continue to live on the reservation, and so her identity is not impacted by her living off reservation and in an urban area. The foundation of her cultural identity, she believes, was established as a young child through interactions with her Indian extended family members, and then her identity became firmly internalized over time through exposure to elements of her culture, such as language and the environment.

Powwow dancing and speaking her Native language are also important aspects of Marie's cultural identity. She has used powwow dancing to assert her Indian identity and believes it is a way through which her children and other urban Indian young people can identify as Indian. She has been careful to maintain her tribal distinctiveness in the intertribal powwow world by making sure her powwow regalia and the way she dances are consistent with her particular tribe's ways. She believes that urban powwow Indians often cross tribal boundaries by using designs and symbols on their regalia of tribes other than their own. and thereby weaken their identification with their specific tribal cultures

Despite the tribal-specific focus of her powwow involvement, Marie also sees urban Indians as living with their feet in two different worlds most of the time. On a day-to-

day basis, Marie resists involvement in mainstream culture because it is inconsistent with the Lakota values she lives by and thus also inconsistent with her identity as a Lakota woman. This being the case, Marie also realizes that as an urban Indian, she must be flexible and adaptable in order to survive in the urban environment. She has constructed an Indian identity that allows her to adapt to the urban environment by knowing how to act in the mainstream culture, without losing or giving up her Indian values, her sensitivity to cultural norms and modes of behavior, and the ways she expresses her Indianness. In order to do this, she has had to analyze and become acutely aware of the differences between Indian culture and its values and the dominant culture and its values. This process has been instrumental in strengthening her cultural identity. This identity—the strong sense of who she is as a Lakota woman—helps Marie know what she wants in life and succeed in accomplishing goals, both within the Indian and the non-Indian worlds, while remaining comfortable in both.

Shaun—Family 3/Generation 3

Shaun has developed multiple Indian identities, which he maintains through his involvement in various aspects of both tribal-specific and collective Indian cultures. His most fundamental Indian identity is grounded in his membership in his tribe, which he is proud to acknowledge is a sovereign nation because of his understanding of the meaning of that status. When asked by others what his ethnicity is, he responds by telling them that he is a member of a tribal nation, not simply a tribe. He is continually learning about the ceremonies, traditions, and cultural practices of his tribe and affirms his Indian identity to others by demonstrating his knowledge of his

specific tribal culture. Shaun specifically rejects a collective Indian identity. He demonstrates this by reminding those who ask him questions about Indians that there are many different groups and his answer reflects only his experience or perspective. Shaun maintains an urban-specific Indian identity that is related to being part of an Indian family that has lived for three generations in an urban area. He also identifies as an Indian person who has chosen to live an alcohol, drug, and tobacco-free lifestyle and to stay away from gang involvement. He sees that these characteristics differentiate him from many of his peers on the reservation. Finally, he expresses his unique and personal Indian identity through his participation in powwows as both a dancer and singer. He also listens almost exclusively to American Indian music as a way to show others that he identifies as Indian.

Shaun finds that he is often mistaken as being Mexican, the ethnic group most prominent in the area where he lives; and when he tells other people that he is Indian, it often surprises them. This has led him to believe that American Indians, like himself, who live in urban areas, must maintain their cultural identities in an environment where that identity is constantly being challenged by the presence of, and struggles with, many other ethnic groups.

Brooke—Family 3/Generation 3

Brooke is proud to be American Indian, and she thinks that it is realistic to identify herself using the term “urban Indian” because that is where she lives and has been raised. She openly expresses that she is American Indian and does not try to hide her involvement in her culture. Her positive Indian identity is tied to her participation in powwows, to her connection to her reservation and family members there, and to the

ways she interacts with her family members who live in the city. Brooke is aware that non-Indians tend to generalize all Indians into one group. She rejects, however, the shared Indian identity that she believes some urban Indians hold because she believes it reflects acceptance of non-Indians' lack of knowledge of Native life. While Brooke will identify herself to non-Indians in a general way as "Indian", to other Indians she identifies as being from her specific tribe. This is one way she expresses her distinct tribal identity.

Brooke does have a part of her cultural identity that she acknowledges as distinctly urban Indian and that makes her different in some ways from her peers who live on the reservation. In fact, when she goes back there, she feels that she stands out as being an Indian person from the city because of the way she dresses, drives, talks, and thinks.

By living in the city it seems to Brooke that it would be easy to lose her cultural identity if she did not concentrate on maintaining and strengthening it through practicing her tribal traditions. She sees, however, a distinction between involvement in powwows and involvement in culture and traditions; the later is something she does, for the most part, by traveling back to her reservation.

Brooke also sees urban Indian young people as wanting to fit in amongst other young people in the urban setting, and so, in an attempt not to stand out, many move away from things that might identify them with their culture. However, because of the extreme minority status of urban American Indians, Brooke believes that it is important for urban Indian young people to balance their desire to fit in with others

with an acute awareness of the importance of maintaining traditions and cultural uniqueness.

Shirley— Family 4/Generation 1

Shirley is a member of a Northeastern tribe that is located thousands of miles away from Denver, the city where she has lived since the mid-1960s. She has never met anyone else living in Denver who was from her tribe, nor has she ever heard that there were others living in the city. Thus, she believes that she and her children are the only ones from their tribe to have ever lived in Denver. Being the lone member of her tribe and living amongst Indians from a multitude of tribes has not been problematic for her, however. Instead, she has come to identify with Indians, in general, while still maintaining her own, as well as her children's, distinct identity as members of their tribe.

For Shirley, maintaining a tribal specific Indian identity is not dependent upon being with other members of her tribe. Instead, she sees this identity as having been inscribed permanently in her as a result of growing up in her small tribal community. In fact, for many years during the time her children were small, neither she nor they were around other Indians. But, Shirley always made sure that her children knew they were Indians and what tribe they were from, especially since their father was White. One important aspect of Shirley's Indian identity stems from her experience of being a child who was abandoned by her mother and father and raised by her paternal grandmother and members of her tribal community. Because of this experience, Shirley identifies personally with the experiences of Indian children who have been abandoned and hurt. The strong connection she has to being Indian comes to her

through her relationship to her paternal grandmother, a woman who played an important role in her life when her mother and father weren't there.

Historical circumstances and a lack of records and documentation have made it difficult for Shirley to find out who her mother and maternal grandmother were and exactly where they were from, although she knows they were from a Canadian tribe. As a result of this, the part of Shirley's Indian identity that comes from her Indian heritage on her mother's side feels to her as if it is incomplete.

Shirley's Indian identity has two sides. One side is apparent to non-Indians through her phenotype and her background. The other side, however, resides deep within her and only presents itself to other Indian people. Having dual sides to her Indian identity leaves her feeling as if she leads a double life; she can fit into White society while at the same time she knows she has a private Indian side that is not apparent to non-Indians.

Over the years she has lived in Denver, Shirley has been focused on growing and becoming a stronger person. She distinguishes two groups of Indian people in the Denver Indian community: those who are drunken and on the streets, and those, like herself, who are hard working and responsible. She recognizes that important parts of her Indian identity are related to being a determined and independent person who doesn't abuse substances and who has overcome many challenges in life.

Caroline—Family 4/Generation 2

Lacking specific knowledge about her own tribe, Caroline has constructed her Indian identity around a general set of values that are associated with a number of different tribes. The Indian values of being generous, helping people, working hard,

and keeping a good home are the foundation of Caroline's cultural identity; that identity also expressly excludes drinking and being irresponsible. Caroline believes that her value system is specifically what makes her Indian and at the same time different from non-Indians, although she also believes that there may be something genetic about being Indian that has an influence on one's way of being or is responsible for certain behaviors and choices in life.

While many of the values Caroline holds are consistent with a traditional worldview and traditional ways of acting toward others, she equates traditionality with having been born and raised on the reservation and not as part of being an urban Indian.

Caroline's Indian identity is connected exclusively to the urban setting. It does not incorporate aspects of the reservation—a place where she lived with her ex-husband and his family and did not have good experiences—so she does not feel that anything important to her Indian identity has been lost because she grew up in an urban area. She does not feel a connection to Indians from or living on the reservation and she has never given any thought to how she might be different from a person from her tribe that was raised on their reservation.

Caroline sees her Indianness as structured around working hard, and as such it is quite different from that of Indians who don't like to work, drink excessively, live a chaotic lifestyle and lack direction in life—all elements she equates with the Indian identities of many reservation-based Indians. Both Caroline's White father and Indian mother modeled working hard and she has incorporated this characteristic into her Indian identity and uses it to differentiate herself from reservation-based Indians whose poor work ethic, in her opinion, seems to be a part of their identity.

There have never been other members of her tribe living in the city where Caroline grew up and continues to live. She had no one other than her mother to whom she could look to in order to develop a tribal specific Indian identity. Although it has not been terribly important for her to know a lot about her tribe, Caroline she still finds herself wondering what people from her tribe are like, and she often finds herself pondering whether she bears any physical resemblance to them. This is also important to her because it is difficult for individuals unfamiliar with Native people to identify her as Indian from her physical appearance. Although she is half White, she is usually misidentified by others as being a member of any one of the other minority ethnicities in the U.S., but seldom as American Indian. She becomes especially irritated when people assumed her to be Latino, the majority ethnic group in the area where she lives, and then begin speaking to her in Spanish.

Looking back at her life, Caroline considers herself to have been raised White, while always knowing she was Indian and what tribe she was from, but lacking a sense of what it meant to be Indian. As a young teen-ager she began attending an intertribal youth program in her urban Indian community and as a result she began to feel that her Indian identity was important. She began to identify with other Indians, in general, rather than as a person from her specific tribe because at the time she believed Indians were all about the same. Caroline subsequently became immersed in the Lakota culture, to the point of understanding the language, because it was the dominant Indian culture in the city where she lived and that of her ex-husband and his family. However, she feels that she wasn't really accepted amongst the Lakota as some would even

make fun of her or call her names. Because of this experience she didn't develop a cultural identity as a Lakota; it instead strengthened her generalized Indian identity. Caroline retains some desire to develop her tribal specific identity even though her experiences related to being Indian have been exclusively inter-tribal. She has little sense of being a person from her specific tribe although she identifies her ethnicity to others by saying she is American Indian and then giving the name of her tribe. She finds that in Denver she must also add where her tribe is located because most people have never heard of it. She was surprised to experience during a trip back East that when people found out she was Indian and the tribe she was from, they made a big deal of it, unlike her experience in Denver where even other Indians frequently don't recognize her tribe's name.

Caroline accepts that there are different ways that Indian people express being Indian, but as she was growing up, it seemed to her that her peers identified Indianness with drinking excessively. Later, her experiences with her ex-husband and his family as they abused alcohol reinforced this belief. As a result, Caroline feels that she has been negatively impacted by Indians who misuse alcohol because of the stereotypes that result from this behavior. She gets very irritated when people who find out that she is Indian automatically assume that she drinks because she knows this stereotype of Indians is not really true. Actually, Caroline is not afraid to tell people close to her that if being Indian means being a drunk, she would rather not be Indian.

Caroline has constructed her Indian identity from the positive cultural values she holds, and her way of being Indian is to be proud and embrace the good things about her culture—like the spirituality and relationships with other Indian people—while

getting rid of the negatives like drinking and living a chaotic lifestyle. This has led her to feel that she has now developed a personal identity that blends her cultural identity with aspects of non-Indian metaphysical belief.

Rose—Family 5/Generation 1

Rose's concept of Indian identity is synonymous with that of tribal *heritage*. Thus, her cultural identity is specific to her tribe, and an important part of that identity is related to her knowing the history of her tribe and its struggles to maintain its own identity as a distinct tribal group. She has read a great deal about her tribe's history as a way of reinforcing her tribal-specific Indian identity. Rose constructs her Indian identity as an extension of her tribe's past history, and this causes her to focus on her heritage rather than on her contemporary experiences of being an Indian person. Rose speaks of carrying her heritage internally in a way similar to the way others speak of having internalized their cultural identity.

Rose always lets people know, wherever she goes, that she is an Indian, and specifically one from her particular tribe. It is important to sustaining Rose's identity that people know she is Indian, and she conveys this both through her classically Indian phenotype as well as her ability to talk to non-Indians about the history of her tribe. She expresses pride in being an Indian person from her tribe in public speaking appearances where she teaches non-Indian groups about her tribe's historical experiences. Thus, one way Rose constructs and reinforces her Indian identity is by presenting herself as a person who educates non-Indians about Indian people and corrects stereotypes. In fact, Rose's image of herself is that of a person who has expertise on Indian life and history.

Rose considers her cultural identity to be an internalized sense of who she is—an Indian from her specific tribe. This strongly internalized sense of being an Indian person is unaffected by her physical location, although she admits that it is easier to have an Indian identity in Oklahoma, because White people there are more aware of Indians. She believes that moving to Denver had no effect on her identity as an Indian person, in general, nor as one from her tribe.

An important piece of her Indian identity is tied to her past experiences of being Indian in Oklahoma and to her connection to her relatives that lived there. However, Rose's tribal-specific Indian identity is not dependent upon being with other people from her tribe or living in her tribal area. She has maintained a strong feeling of being a tribal member, despite living in a city where there are no other people from her tribe, by going back to visit her relatives in Oklahoma.

Rose believes that not speaking her language, going to boarding school, and being affected by other assimilative processes have caused her to lose some of her Indian identity. Although it is important to have non-Indians know she is Indian, she also sees that a part of her is similar to White people, and she feels she can interact comfortably with them as if she were one of them. Finally, Rose sees who she is as an Indian person as different from who her children and grandchildren are as Indians. Rather than identifying her children and grandchildren as Indian through their tribal blood, Rose identifies them more as White than Indian because of their phenotypes. She expresses this also in leaving it up to them to identify as Indian or not.

William—Family 5/Generation 2

Since childhood, William has identified as a member of his tribe, although he is of mixed American Indian and European heritage; when asked by others about his ethnicity, he will identify both sides of his heritage and then give his specific tribal affiliation. William's desire to identify as a member of his small tribe has been growing since he was a child, but he identifies political factors, such as the tribe's loss of federal recognition and absorption into another tribe, as making it difficult for him to maintain a strong tribal-specific Indian identity. As a result, William also maintains a collective Indian identity, which at this point in his life, is stronger than his tribal-specific identity. His collective Indian identity is reinforced by his feelings of kinship with all Indians because of their small number relative to the population of other ethnic groups. Identifying with and seeking out connections with other Indian people is an important part of his cultural identity; and social involvement with other Indians, working in Indian-focused jobs, volunteering in the Indian community, and researching his tribe are all elements that contribute to strengthening William's Indian identity.

William equates a certain phenotype with being identified by others as Indian. Although he feels he can be more easily identified as Indian because he is one of the more "Indian looking" members of his family and tribe, he is also aware that in most instances, other people do not identify him as being Indian. William has had many experiences where an incorrect judgment as to his ethnicity has been made based solely upon his physical appearance and dark coloring, and he attributes this to a widespread unfamiliarity with American Indians. He most frequently experiences being misidentified as Mexican, but at times is also thought to be Italian or Middle

Eastern. He has experienced racism and discrimination that he feels was aimed at individuals from those groups or was simply because of his skin color, but not because he was American Indian.

William is currently reflecting upon his Indianness as he goes through a major life transition. He is reaching out to his mother to help him learn more about who he is as a tribal person, for information about his family's experiences of being Indian, and to learn about his tribe's traditions. These efforts are a way of strengthening and growing his cultural identity and lessening the acculturation he feels. It has been difficult, however, for William to get the information he needs about his family and tribe into order to better understand his identity and integrate its meaning. He attributes this to coming from a family where he feels many members, even those in Oklahoma, are acculturated.

Having Indian blood makes him inherently different from non-Indians, William believes, and it also causes him to look at the world differently. He attributes his identifying as American Indian and holding Indian values to be why he does not fit into today's society as well as a White man would. Along with having Indian blood, maintaining tribal traditions, such as receiving an Indian name, is an important part of his cultural identity; and knowing that many of his tribe's traditions have been lost has left him feeling that something is missing from his cultural identity.

Cheryl—Family 5/Generation 2

Cheryl is of mixed American Indian and European heritage and identifies as both American Indian, and through her lineage on her mother's side, as a member of her particular tribe. Cheryl also manages multiple identities, one of which is a gay identity,

along side her Indian identity, and she believes that doing this has helped her to have a stronger sense of who she is as an Indian person.

Cheryl experiences her American Indian identity as problematic because she believes cultural identity is tied, in large part, to physical appearance, and she believes that she presents to others as a White person. Cheryl has experienced that it is difficult for others to identify her as Indian because of her light skin and phenotypically White appearance, and these characteristics also cause her to feel that she doesn't fit in around other Indians. At times Cheryl purposely adorns herself with symbols and images associated with American Indians to try to be identified as such, but despite doing this she is still seldom recognized as Indian.

Not looking phenotypically Indian affects the way Cheryl negotiates her cultural identity and has resulted in her constructing an Indian identity that she holds as an internal state of being that is grounded in her spirituality. She expresses this internalized Indian identity through individualized activities such as reading Native literature, connecting with nature, creating a home space where she can be herself, living life at a slower pace, and spending time with her family.

At age 18, Cheryl reports that she set forth on a journey to understand her Indianness; pieces of her Indian identity have continued to unfold during the 20 years since. She has moved during this time period from wanting to be White to embracing an Indian identity, and she is now less concerned about fitting in in White society than she once was. Family and spirituality have become important pieces of her Indian identity, and although she does not know the traditional spiritual practices of her specific tribe, she has incorporated into her life spiritual traditions from another tribe

which she expresses personally rather than in relationship with other Indian people or through communal ceremonies and rituals.

Cheryl sees her mother as a strong symbol of Indianness with whom she can identify.

An aunt was also influential in spurring Cheryl to better understand her Indianness.

This relative encouraged and supported her in her efforts to develop an identity as an Indian woman after spending her teen-age and young adult years being conflicted about her Indian identity. Despite her identification with these family members, both of whom have been active in tribal politics, Cheryl's identifies more with Indians in general than she does with her specific tribal group. She does, however, attempt to act in accordance with what she believes were her tribe's traditional gender roles and to live in a way that is congruent with her tribe's traditional depiction as peaceful, wise, and loving people. These behaviors allow Cheryl to outwardly manifest her cultural identity.

Because Cheryl considers her Indian identity to be a completely internal aspect of her being, she does not feel that having interactions with other Indian people is a necessary part of developing or maintaining her cultural identity. She also doesn't get involved with other Indians because she believes her physical appearance prevents her from fitting in with them. Thus, her identification with other Indians is limited and she believes she is not Indian in the same way as most other Indians, especially the alcoholic or homeless Indians she sees in the city where she lives.

Cheryl is very aware of stereotypes of Indians held by non-Indians, and she has worked to distance herself psychologically from other Indians who have problems like alcoholism by telling herself she won't be identified by others as like them because

she looks White. She has also pushed herself to succeed in college so she will not be seen to be like the stereotypical Indian.

Instead of identifying with American Indians as a group, Cheryl has constructed an individualized Indian identity that positions her as a person who lives by a different set of values than do non-Indians. Her Indianness also allows her to create a personal emotional space that can keep her separate from others with whom she believes she does not fit and buffers her from the fast past of the urban environment in which she feels she is not neurologically designed to live.

Family 5/Generation 3

The two members of Generation 3 in Family 5 were still in elementary school at the time of this study so older family members were asked to reflect upon how growing up in an urban area might be affecting these young people's cultural identity. Both young boys have White mothers, and both William and Cheryl express fears that because of this, the only sense of being Indian that their nephews will ever have is simply that their grandmother was Indian.

Rose, in fact, identifies her grandchildren as primarily White because of their phenotype, even though they have a significant amount of blood from her tribe.

Echoing the importance to family members of Indian phenotype, William and Cheryl point out that they are concerned that because the boys look White, their nephews will simply blend into White society and no longer identify as, or be identified by others, as Indians.

One of the young boys from Generation 3, who lives on the East Coast near where the family's tribe originally lived, is showing interest in that fact that his grandmother is

Indian; William and Cheryl hope that this may lead him to be more interested in his Indian identity in the future. Their other nephew lives in Oklahoma, and because William remembers how being near his tribe helped him develop a part of his Indian identity, he hopes this will also support the identity development of this nephew. Neither William nor Cheryl, however, have ever discussed with either of their nephews the family's Indian heritage, talked about the history of their tribe, nor emphasized to the boys that they are American Indian.

APPENDIX 5. INDIVIDUAL DESCRIPTIVE SYNTHESSES
OF CULTURAL CONNECTEDNESS STRUCTURES AND STYLES

Charles—Family 1/Generation 1

Charles's connection to Indian culture has always come through his relationships with other Indian people. Since coming to the city more than 60 years ago, these relationships have primarily been with members of the large group of his wife's relatives that settled together in Denver. Having close ties with other Indian people who are not his relatives is not something that has ever been vital to Charles. However, over the years, he has had a number of Indian friends in Denver who were from tribes other than his own; attending powwows was the main way that Charles associated with these other Indian people.

When he first came to Denver, Charles did not actively seek out other Indian people with whom to socialize or build friendships. He has always been careful about involvement with other urban Indians because he and his wife believed that the best way to avoid getting in between groups of Indians that didn't get along with one another was to stay within one's family circle. Therefore, instead of developing ties to Indians in the city, he maintained strong ties to his reservation and the people there. And to accomplish this, for many years after coming to the city, he, his wife, and their children returned to their reservation every week for powwows and visits.

Charles tried always to live in close proximity to his wife's relatives who also lived in the city. This living arrangement was very much like the one that he and his late wife had been brought up with on their reservation. Thus, one way that he maintained his cultural connectedness was through the continued practice of tribal

traditions regarding kinship relationships and responsibilities to relatives. An example of this can be seen in Charles and his wife having raised a number of their relatives' children when the parents were unable to do so.

Jason—Family 1/Generation 2

Jason believes that his parents provided the foundation for his connection to Indian culture by teaching him Indian values and about what it was like to be an Indian—both on the reservation and in the city. He considers that expressions of Indian heritage and traditions are rare in the city, but that they survive in people like him who grew up learning about cultural ways. Embracing his heritage and practicing traditions are what Jason deems protect him from being assimilated into the dominant culture, and he believes that they have also kept him from succumbing to some of the negatives aspects of modern Indian life, such as substance abuse. Jason's cultural connectedness has also given him the ability to easily move back and forth between Indian and non-Indian culture. Although he recognizes that Indian people may use many different ways to connect to Indian culture, in the end he believes that the most important requirement for cultural connectedness is that a person feel highly positive about being American Indian.

In his own understanding of his traditional culture, Indian people have always been adapting to the world in which they live. This interpretation allows Jason to incorporate aspects of the dominant culture and the urban environment into his way of being, while at the same time also seeing himself as having remained culturally connected. Jason believes that he is able to be adaptable because of his grounding in and understanding of traditional values and cultural ways. However, because he has

not found cultural traditions to work for him in the city in the same way that they do on the reservation or in the powwow world, Jason strives to live in the city in a way that is both congruent with cultural traditions and that demonstrates his awareness that when an Indian person lives in the city, he or she must balance both Indian and non-Indians ways. Jason is careful to note that this makes him “non-traditional” because, in his view, connecting to Indian culture from the stance of being a traditional person would require that one reject all values, ideas, and ways of living of the dominant culture and modern society.

Jason has been around Indian people continuously over the course of his lifetime, and the relationships he has with other Indians have strengthened and sustained his cultural connectedness. While growing up, Jason saw his mother being very involved with people through various cultural activities in the urban Indian community, and this gave him a sense that he, too, was culturally connected. From a young age, Jason’s extensive involvement in contest powwow dancing also brought him into contact with many Indian people from tribes all across the country, and it created in him the knowledge that he had strong connections to Indian culture.

An important element of Jason’s cultural connectedness is his preference for spending time with Indian friends in the city and on his reservation, to which he maintains a connection through his friends there. He frequently goes back to his reservation for short periods of time to live in a manner he describes as, “like the people there do.” This is yet another strategy that reinforces his connection to the space of his reservation and to the people, as well as to the traditions and cultural values he believes are inherent there.

Jason is also able to feel a connection to Indian culture through a cognitive and psychological construction that he calls his “Indian space in the city”. He uses this space as a protective element that both shields him from being assimilated into the dominant culture and at the same time keeps him from being so connected to his culture that he is unable to function in mainstream society.

Angela—Family 1/Generation 3

Angela remembers having few associations with other Indian people during her childhood other than with family members. Because of this, she attributes the connection that she now has to Indian culture to have come from her grandparents and extended family members. Angela did not feel much connection to Indian culture until recently, even though she had been around Indian culture all her life as result of the involvement of family members in cultural activities and her participation in powwows from the time she was a toddler. Taking part in Indian activities, such as her extensive involvement in powwows, was not enough to give her a feeling of cultural connectedness, because as she was growing up, she lived away from her grandparents and mostly isolated in her daily life from other Indians. Her interest, as an adult, in increasing her connectedness was spurred by seeing how her grandparents were helping her raise her own daughter in alignment with cultural values and traditions and by observing her daughter becoming involved in cultural activities.

Angela now realizes that her feelings of cultural connectedness come through the relationships she has with other Indians and through living by traditional Lakota values. Working with other Indian people as a staff member in an urban Indian agency and being of service to the agency’s clients gives her a sense of being connected to

Indian culture and allows her to demonstrate cultural values in the way she treats people. Working with other Indian people has also helped her strengthen her cultural connectedness by allowing her to identify things she has in common with other Indians. Immersion in her urban Indian community through involvement in many activities and causes alongside other community members seems to her like a natural part of being connected to her culture and it has given her a sense of being part of a community. This involvement is modeled after that of her grandparents and mother, who she considers to be very connected to their culture.

Angela has had little connection to her reservation and the tribal community from which her grandparents came, although she does consider it “home” and a place where she feels she belongs. She does not feel a strong enough connection to her reservation to want to go back there to live. She conceives of the reservation as the place where traditions happen—she often uses the terms, reservation and culture, interchangeably—and so she has always feared that she is missing out on learning her traditions, and especially traditional spirituality, by living in an urban area. Because of this, she feels she is not as culturally connected as she would be if she lived on her reservation. Angela can be seen to be managing two different connections to physical spaces where Indians are found—she wants the city and her urban Indian community to be the place she lives and the reservation the place she visits.

Angela finds it difficult to be connected to the culture of her specific band of her tribal group while living in the city, but she has associations with many other Lakotas from different bands. She considers her relationship with a person from her specific Lakota band to be different than one she would have with a person from another Lakota band.

Angela attends an Indian Catholic Church rather than the church down the street from her home, because it gives her an opportunity to be in a setting where she can feel connected to other Indian people in a way that is similar to how she feels when attending powwows and other events in the Indian community. She finds that she has a growing desire to be involved in traditional Lakota spirituality as a way of enacting her growing sense of cultural connectedness. However, because she is unsure of who to trust to lead traditional spiritual practices and because she believes that these should be done in a very specific way, which would be difficult to find in the city, she has been unable to fully embrace this aspect of her culture connectedness.

As a result of her involvement in a work and community settings with Indians from other tribes, Angela is in the process of learning about other Native cultures, and this, too, gives her a sense of being culturally connected. She has had to learn about other tribes in order to be respectful of their ways, and in doing this, she has come to believe that Indian people all have a connection to one another, even if they do things differently. Through her interactions with Indians from other tribes, she believes she has come to better understand her own tribe's values. However, Angela believes that tribal-specific traditions should be at the heart of an individual's connection to Native culture. She is concerned that in the case of many urban Indian young people, connection to non-tribal-specific Indian cultures, such as the powwow culture, may be replacing their tribal-specific connectedness.

Christina—Family 1/Generation 3

Christina is the younger sister of Angela. As a toddler, she, although not Angela, was put up for adoption by her biological parents. Christina was then adopted by a non-

Indian couple who made sure she knew she was Indian and who also made small efforts to help her connect with her culture, such as finding a person to teach her to powwow dance. Until she was in high school, however, Christina's only regular contacts with other Indians were with two other Indian girls in her school who were also adoptees.

During high school Christina took an internship at the Indian Center and this led her to contact her tribe to complete her tribal enrollment. She describes that these two actions were not so much efforts to increase her cultural connectedness, as they were efforts to get school credits and be eligible for certain college scholarships. By contacting her tribe, however, Christina learned the name of her biological family and successfully located them in Denver, and these family members became her first significant connections other Indian people.

Christina has made two trips back to her father's reservation, although she does not consider them to be something that has strengthened her cultural connectedness or helped her learn more about her culture. Instead, Christina now sees herself as beginning to learn about her culture from her sister and through powwow dancing. Learning about her culture is something she sees as important because cultural knowledge will eventually enable her to make the decision of whether or not to strengthen her cultural connectedness.

Christina is ambivalent about connecting to Indian culture as doing so is deeply intertwined with embracing her Native identity, and she currently sees many obstacles that prevent her from doing both. This ambivalence also leaves her feeling guilty for not developing her cultural connectedness. Thus, while it is only somewhat important

to Christina to be connected to her culture, she does want her children to know about and be connected to Indian culture if they so choose.

Vickie—Family 1/Generation 4

Other Indian people are what connect a person to Indian culture, Vickie believes.

Thus, being with other Indians is an important part of her cultural connectedness, and she strongly feels this connectedness when she is involved in activities with them.

Although living in an urban areas makes it seem to her that it can be hard to connect with other Indians, Vickie does link up with other Indian young people at her school, in Indian community youth programs, and at Indian youth conferences, cultural events, powwows, and even just on the street. In her experience, though, it seems to Vickie that the main way that urban Indian young people stay connected with one another and their culture is by going to powwows.

Vickie has only been back to her family's reservation once, and so she feels her connection to this place is not very strong. However, she was able to increase her feeling of connection to the reservation by recently taking a trip back there. During this trip, she discovered, surprisingly, that she felt a connection to her peers there and that she wasn't much different from them. She also felt very comfortable with the people on the reservation and this indicated to her that she fit in there and had a level of cultural connectedness that made her a part of them. Although Vickie does not, as yet, feel strongly connected to her reservation, she proudly indicates her tie to her tribe by using its band name rather than the more encompassing term "Lakota," although she says that she also feels a connection with the wider group of Lakotas.

It is important to Vickie's sense of cultural connectedness that she know about both her tribe's history and the current events and issues that affect the wider group of Indian people in the U.S. The more she learns about her culture, the more connected she feels to it. Therefore, to increase her cultural knowledge, she often asks questions of her grandparents, mother and other elders, reads books, and keeps up with current events and issues on her reservation. She thinks, however, that it is harder to learn about her tribal culture in an urban area than it would be if she were living on her reservation, because there are few people from her specific band who live in Denver. Christina now attends an Indian focus school in her school district. There she finds that knowing she has a common bond with other Indian students has helped her to feel more culturally connected as well as to improve academically and socially. She believes that being connected to one's cultural involves a risk of being seen as different and treated accordingly. She is willing, however, to endure these consequences of being connected to her Indian culture because she feels she can obtain guidance from her mother when she has to handle difficult situations related to her connectedness.

Finally, Vickie believes that Indian youth have to work hard in order to connect to Indian culture and other Indian people when they live in an urban area. As such, it then seems to her that it is easy for those who don't want to be connected to separate themselves from their culture as much as they want. Therefore, in order to be connected to Indian culture, Vickie believes that a young person needs support from an adult who is, him or herself, strongly connected with the culture.

Belinda—Family 2/Generation 2

Her most fundamental connection to her culture comes to Belinda through connections with other Indian people. These connections were built and reinforced by her grandparents and other extended family members while she was growing up on her reservation. Leaving them behind when she accompanied her mother and stepfather when they relocated to Denver was initially a tremendous loss to her. However, after her family got settled in the city, she found that she had not lost her family members but that these connections were maintained, because those on the reservation frequently came to visit her family in the city. These extended family relationships remained vitally important to her during her years of living in an urban area.

When her family arrived in Denver as Relocates in the mid-1950s, there was no Indian community as there is now, so her early connections to other Indians in Denver were with other Relocates and their children. These individuals created an environment surrounded by Indian culture in which Belinda continued to be immersed, as she had been with her extended family on her reservation. Belinda's family did not return to their reservation for 7 years after arriving in the city, but they maintained connections to family on the reservation by bringing them to Denver to visit or live. In this way, Belinda maintained connections to her culture through interactions with kin. It was not until she was an adult that Belinda began returning more frequently to her reservation.

Belinda has always connected to the spiritual parts of Indian culture through Christianity rather than traditional spirituality. Her main connections to Indian people in the city have been through the Episcopal Church. Indian Christian churches in the

city have also provided her, since her family's arrival in the city, with a way to connect to Indian culture while living in an urban area.

During the civil rights era, Belinda attempted to broaden her connections to Indian culture through involvement in Indian activism and the American Indian Movement. It felt to her, however, that within these activist groups, being full blooded and participating in traditional spirituality were requirements for inclusion and acceptance. She remembered that she was made to feel like an outsider because she was mixed blooded and did not go to sweat lodges. This experience served to strengthen her feeling that as an Indian person, she was first and foremost connected to her extended family on the reservation and Indian Christianity, which in her view, had embedded within it many elements of traditional spirituality.

Belinda believes that the connection to Indian culture that has come to her through the church has protected her from alcoholism and addiction. Her experience of growing up in a home with many alcoholics and drug users is a less positive connection Belinda has with her culture, but this experience has also spurred her to incorporate traditional Indian values into the way she lives her life. She considers an important connection to her culture, which she now holds, to be living by Indian values that stress sobriety and creating a home where members are substance free. These same Indian values underlie her desire to help individuals and communities overcome addiction and help Indian youth connect to the healthy aspects of their culture.

Belinda, who was born on the reservation and lived there until age 11, sees that the way of life she lived as a child on the reservation is now changing. She believes that the type of connections to Indian culture she experienced there are breaking down and

being lost to younger generations, even those still living on the reservation. As a result of spending much of her childhood on the reservation, she considers herself to have had a different exposure to her culture than did her younger siblings, who were born in the city; and thus, her connectedness to her culture is also different than theirs. Belinda maintains the type of the connectedness to her culture that she associates with her childhood by remembering and honoring the spirits of her relatives who have passed away.

Even though she feels most connected to Indian culture through her relatives back on the reservation, Belinda has also been able to create her own type of Indian world in the city, a place where relationships with other people are foremost and where she enjoys her really good friends, both Indian and non-Indian.

Melissa—Family 2/Generation 2

For Melissa, there is no link between her Native ethnicity and a feeling of connection to Indian culture. Instead, it is as if Indian culture is something that exists apart from her and with which she has only a superficial relationship. Melissa expresses no desire to be around other Indian people and this also limits how connected she is to Indian culture. The slight connection she does have with her culture, however, she displays by wearing clothing and accessories with Indian symbols.

Melissa currently knows few Indian people, other than family members, and she recalls never feeling very connected to other Indians. She also feels little connection to the reservation from which her family came, or to her tribe, which she never identifies by name; instead she relates that she feels connected to “America”. And, in addition, the little connection Melissa has to her reservation is actually to her relatives there, but

not to the place. She has constructed an image of life being so much better in the city that she has no desire to ever go back to her reservation, either to visit or live. She has developed a cognitive strategy that allows her to justify not maintaining any emotional or psychological connection to the reservation because she no longer has relatives that she knows still living there.

As a youngster, however, Melissa did have a number of connections to other Indian people in her urban Indian community. These came through the original Denver Indian Center, a place where many of her family members worked and that she characterizes as her “second home.” Melissa and members of her family participated often in powwows, classes, and other activities at the Indian Center.

As a teen-ager, though, Melissa began to feel less close to the people in her Indian community. Being connected to her culture ceased to be important to her and she moved away from involvement in the Indian community. She replaced her involvement in Indian culture with an emphasis on associating with people from many different ethnic backgrounds. As a result, today Melissa believes she is able to get along well with people from diverse groups because she grew up in a multicultural neighborhood and remembers being told by her parents to never judge anyone by their color.

The time she spent participating in the Job Corps. was significant in Melissa’s life, and was something she became involved in in order to better herself through education and work experience. It was in the Job Corps. that Melissa first interacted with Indian people from outside her urban community. However, she found that she

felt she had little in common with her reservation-based peers because she perceived them to have different values than she.

In fact, her interactions with her reservation-based peers seem to have reinforced negative attitudes that had developed earlier in her life about the reservation and reservation Indians. She saw her peers as not wanting to work hard nor accomplish anything in life, content to let the government take care of them, and not independent enough to leave the reservation—all just the opposite of her. Melissa currently maintains the cognitive and emotional distance between herself and reservation-based Indians that she first created during her time in the Job Corps. by considering them as angry and hateful toward non-Indians, albeit with good reason because of their treatment, while she gets along with everyone.

Melissa believes that moving away from the reservation is what Indian people should work actively to do and that they should have no reason to feel a connection to the reservation other than that it is a place where relatives live. She now looks at her grandparents' leaving their reservation and relocating in the city as a positive move that eventually provided her with the opportunity to be independent, have a good job and own her own home, and thereby avoid the experience of poverty that she connects with being Indian.

Melissa operates from a cognitive schema that involves images of herself as hardworking and independent as a result of her family's breaking their connection to the reservation. In this image, her family enjoys a good life in the city because they had opportunities to accomplish goals they could not have had they remained on the reservation. Melissa further distances herself from a connection to Indian culture by

denying any link between historical and contextual factors and the behavior and attitudes of some Indian people, such as her brothers, whom she labels in a stereotypical way as “lazy”.

In contrast to her grandmother, who Melissa believes held her traditions in her heart and head and did not lose them in the city, she does not recall as a child learning anything about her tribe or about being Indian that was important enough to have carried it with her into adulthood. She characterizes her family as not being traditional but very connected to and supportive of one another, the later being something that others might say exemplifies an aspect of traditionality as does most members’ living near one another or in the same neighborhood. Melissa believes that the connection to Indian culture has ended with her generation and that her nieces, the fourth generation of her family to live in Denver, know their father is Indian but have no other connection to Indian culture or Indian people.

Maryann—Family 2/Generation 2

Maryann feels a connection to both Indians, in general, and to her specific tribe, which she pictures as a large family. By taking her back to her reservation when she was a child, Maryann’s mother and grandmother helped her maintain a connection to the place the family came from and to relatives who still lived there. As a result of these visits, she came to consider her reservation as the place where her family came from and to see that Indian culture was different in the city than it was there. Because of this perceived difference, Maryann eventually came to feel that her connection to her culture came about because of her mother and grandmother, and not from her relationship to her tribe or reservation.

As Maryann sees it, her mother and grandmother had little difficulty maintaining their Indian culture in the urban environment. Instead, these two women continually integrated their culture into the every day life of the family. Maryann believes that this was integral to her being able to maintain connections to Indian culture even though she lived in the city. As another way of strengthening her connection to her culture, Maryann would ask her grandmother questions—which the older woman would always answer—about Indian culture and her experiences related to being Indian.

Maryann did not live around many other Indians as she was growing up, but together with members of her family, she took part in Indian-related activities and even went to church at the original Denver Indian Center. This involvement with Indian people gave her a sense of belonging and cultural connectedness. Attending powwows with her mother, grandmother, and siblings was another activity that reinforced Maryann's connection to her culture, and through which she was able to develop social relationships with other Indian people in her community. When her family stopped going to powwows, Maryann lost one of her most important avenues for connecting with her culture and other Indian people. However, her first experience of a traditional ceremony, which occurred when she traveled back to the reservation of a tribe related to hers, gave her a new experience of her culture and created in her a greater sense of cultural connectedness.

Maryann holds an image of Indians on the reservation as being stuck and afraid to leave, content with what she sees as an easier, but lesser, life. Because of this, Maryann believes that her grandparents did the right thing by coming to the city. She understands that to some Indian people, coming to the city might feel like they are

once again having their culture taken away from them, but she considers this to be a mistaken belief and one that does not reflect her family's experience in the urban setting. Instead, it seems to her that her family's experience of leaving the reservation was one where they did not lose their culture but instead continued to do cultural things in the city.

Maryann feels that she has received material and emotional advantages by being born and raised in the city that her reservation-based counterparts have not. To her, it is a good thing that her family left the reservation when they could, even if, in the long term, future generations of family members will have less connection to their culture.

Marie—Family 3/Generation 2

At the age of 35, Marie learned the literal meaning of “Lakota”, the traditional name of her people. Discovering that each syllable of the word, when put together, translated into “the natural being people that are striving to be in harmony and love and compassion with their environment” gave her a positive concept of her people. It also became a powerful force that made her proud of her tribal heritage and increased her feeling of connection to her people. Thus, her tribal membership forms the foundation of Marie's connection to her culture, and affirming her membership to herself and others creates in her a sense of belonging to her tribal group.

Likewise, the relationships that Marie has with family members who continue to live on the reservation also create in her a sense of cultural connectedness. She is from a large family on the reservation, and she has made it a point to know who even her most distant relatives are. She prides herself on being able to name the traditional

familial relationship to her of each one, and considers that this is a fundamental part of being a Lakota person.

Marie also believes that experiencing life on her reservations as the people who live there do is something that strengthens her cultural connectedness. Therefore, she moved back to her reservation and worked with the people there for a year. In addition to her links to her reservation, Marie's occupation as a Lakota language teacher, her involvement with her children in singing and dancing at powwows, practicing traditional spirituality, and talking to her children about their culture are all things that connect her to her culture.

Shaun—Family 3/Generation 3

Shaun feels connected to both his reservation and his urban community. He sees his reservation as the source of a steady stream of cultural activities and a place where it is easy for him to stay continually connected to his culture. In contrast, in the city the only cultural things he takes part in are powwows. At present, Shaun travels regularly back and forth between the city and the reservation as a strategy that helps him fulfill his need to be in both places.

As a teen-ager, Shaun moved back to his reservation for a brief time and had the opportunity to begin learning about his culture through interactions with extended family members. He was also adopted in a traditional way by several Indian men from his tribe and they, too, have taught him about cultural ways, helped him learn traditional songs, and increased his understanding of the powwow way of life. Shaun went on to attend tribal college on the reservation and in so doing learned even more about his specific cultural traditions and practices. All of this cultural learning has

greatly increased his sense of being connected to his culture. Shaun believes that learning about his culture while living on the reservation also strengthened his connection to his tribal ways because he had actual opportunities to practice the traditions and utilize the knowledge he was acquiring.

Shaun now demonstrates his connection to his tribal culture to outsiders by sharing his knowledgeable of the traditions and ceremonies that are specific to his tribe. He would like to see some of the ceremonies done in the urban setting as a way of helping himself and others strengthen their cultural connectedness, but he is not sure whether or not traditional people on the reservation would approve of doing this.

Prior to his move back to the reservation, Shaun's primary involvement with Indian culture had been the powwow. He has powwow danced since he was young and in so doing has developed relationships with Indians from many other tribes. Shaun considers the powwow to be a setting in which young urban Indian people can socialize with one another and feel connections to a collective or intertribal Indian culture.

Living in the urban setting has given Shaun opportunities to learn about other tribal cultures, as well. His own tribe's cultural values stress interacting respectfully and appropriately with other Indian people and Shaun takes these teaching to heart. This has led to his forming friendships with Indian people from many other tribes and from whom he has learned about different tribal cultures. He has also been adopted in a traditional way by several Indian men from tribes other than his and who live in the same city as he, and this, too, has strengthened his connection to the collective intertribal Indian culture.

Although Shaun's family has been living in an urban area for three generations, following their tribal traditions continues to be important to them. One value reflective of these traditions which he sees as personally important to him is respect for women and one's mother. As such, Shaun has a strong connection with this mother, and he attributes her and his grandmother's efforts over the years to helping him to avoid the disconnection from his culture that he sees is a risk of growing up in an urban area. Shaun believes that living in accordance with these traditions has also allowed the family to create a good life in the city, and one that he recognizes has been easier than the one he would have had had he grown up on the reservation. Shaun strives to live his life in a balanced way in order to stay connected to his own culture while living amidst the many different cultures comprising the urban environment. In addition, he listens to American Indian music almost exclusively, both as a way to feel culturally connected and to demonstrate this connection to others. With the help of this music, Shaun creates an Indian space that is uniquely his wherever he is in the urban environment, and from within this space, he is able to feel the connectedness to his culture that is so important to him.

Brooke—Family 3/Generation 3

Immersing herself in activities that are associated with her culture, such as powwows and tribal-specific ceremonies, is the way Brooke stays connected to her culture. She believes that ceremonies, such as the sweat lodge and Sundance, and other aspects of traditional spirituality are what constitute culture, and she believes that opportunities to take part in traditional spirituality are available on an ongoing basis on her reservation.

In contrast, she feels that opportunities for her to be involved in Lakota spirituality in the city are limited and so she does not see herself as being as connected to her culture when she is in the urban setting as when she is on her reservation. As a result, going to her reservation to participate in ceremonies and powwows and to visit relatives is what Brooke feels connects her most to her tribal culture. Making the transition back and forth between the city and the reservation requires her to make emotional, cognitive, and behavioral adjustments' but this is not difficult for her even though she does not actively maintain contacts with family and other people on the reservation when she is in the city.

Brooke makes a distinction between "her culture" as embodied in the traditional spirituality of her tribe or powwows that take place on her reservation, and "Indian culture," an intertribal Indian culture that she associates with the powwows that take place in urban areas. Due to this distinction, Brooke feels that involvement in her specific tribal culture is not happening for her in the urban environment and that it happens only when she is on the reservation and taking part powwows or ceremonies there. Visiting the reservation gives her a sense of cultural connectedness that is different from the cultural connectedness she feels in the city, and this being the case, she sees that when she and her family are in the city, they are as involved in their culture as much as is possible in that environment. Thus, when living in the city, connecting to the intertribal Indian culture is what is primarily available to her, and she identifies powwows as a way that she and other urban Indian young people maintain this cultural connection.

Learning about her tribal culture is another way that creates cultural connectedness for Brooke. This happens for her through elders and other people she knows who are knowledgeable about cultural ways. She considers family to be the way that culture is transmitted. She is acquainted with some urban Indian young people who have less of a connection to their culture than she has; she attributes this to their families' not having remained involved in cultural activities and practices, thus making it difficult for these young people to learn from family members about their tribes and traditions. Brooke believes that if these young people want to feel more culturally connected, they should find an elder or knowledgeable person living in the city that can help them learn about their culture

Experiencing discrimination and feeling she does not fit in go hand-in-hand with Brooke's feeling of being culturally connected. She senses that living in the city could make it easy for her to move away from her culture and eventually lose her connectedness in the desire not to stand out as different. Instead, however, she acknowledges that being a member of a very small minority in a large urban area is difficult and that it requires her to make concerted efforts to maintain her connection to her culture—which she does through the practice of her tribal traditions.

Shirley—Family 4/Generation 1

For several years after Shirley came to Denver with her non-Indian husband, she was isolated from other Indian people and unaware of the Indian community that was taking shape in the city. Her involvement in a job-training program related to the Relocation Program helped her make social contacts and develop friendships with Indian people and, through them, connect to the urban Indian culture present in the

city. She had always felt she fit in and belonged with other Indian people regardless of tribe, and so she was elated to once again be around other Indians. She immersed herself and her children in community activities, helping out at powwows, supporting the youth programs her children were involved in, being a foster parent to Indian children, and playing an active role in the Indian Catholic Church in her community. All of these elements were vital to creating in Shirley a sense that she was connected to Indian culture.

Long-term and stable relationships with other Indian people in her community are Shirley's main connection to Indian culture. She has few remaining connections to her reservation community, so being with other Indian people, regardless of their tribe, is more important to her than being with people from her specific tribal group. An important part of her connection to Indian culture comes from being exposed to a variety of tribal people and their traditional ways. The friendships she has had with many Indian women, who like herself lived in Denver, have supported and sustained her over the years, and she still keeps in touch with old friends, even some who have since returned to their reservations.

Traditional values and ways of thinking have continually organized Shirley's cognitive and decision-making schema. She has always felt that living in accordance with traditional cultural values represented her connection to her culture. Relying on this connection to her culture has helped her understand and resolve challenging and tragic events in her life. Being part of an urban Indian community of people who shared these values and practiced traditional ways of relating to and treating one another helped her re-embrace these values and strengthen her connection to Indian culture,

after being married at a young age to a non-Indian who disapproved of her ways and isolated her away from other Indians.

Raised as a Catholic in her tribal community, she continues to feel a connection to the Indian Catholic Church. However, traditional spirituality and ceremonies are another important part of Shirley's cultural connectedness, and she remains open to beliefs and experiences related to traditional Indian spirituality as reflective of another way that she maintains her connectedness to Indian culture. In the multi-tribal urban environment, she has been exposed to people from many different tribes and has been able to experience their traditions and ceremonies, both in the city and by traveling with them back to their reservations.

Traditional values also continue to structure the way she thinks about her relationships with her family members and the interactions they have. She was raised by her grandmother and has followed, with her own grandchildren, the tradition of grandparents raising their grandchildren when the parents are unable to do so. She has also followed the cultural tradition of raising children with the help of a community, something she has done in Denver with the support of friends and the Indian Catholic Church.

Shirley has never had the opportunity to take her children back to her reservation, a place where she has few remaining connections, so for many years she was their only connection to Indian people and Indian culture. Passing on to her children a connection to Indian culture was important to her, so after Shirley reconnected to other Indian people

through an urban Indian organization, she made sure her children became immersed in the Indian community.

Being able to occupy an “Indian space” in which only other Indian people are present is an additional aspect of her cultural connectedness that is vital to Shirley. She finds it very comforting to go into a space that is separate from the White culture and where she can achieve a feeling of oneness with other Indian people. This she does by spending time in nurturing environments with the Indian people that are important to her and who have supported her over the years.

Caroline—Family 4/Generation 2

Close friends in the Indian community give Caroline a feeling of being connected to her culture, and it is important to her to bring Indian people together and create powerful connections between them. It is easier for Caroline to make connections with Indian people than with people of other ethnicities, because she sees her Indian friends as having a value system and way of being that is like her own. She connects with Indian people in a different way than she does with non-Indians, and as a result, establishes long-term friendships through which she feels she can be herself—a caring, supportive, and helpful person—while not having to worry that she will feel judged or criticized by her friends. She relaxes and is more herself when she is with Indian friends, because she sees them as more concerned with other people than are non-Indians.

Caroline’s connectedness to Indian culture is not expressed through involvement in the urban Indian community where she lives or participation in Indian-related activities and events, although she was active in the community when she was younger. Instead,

her cultural connectedness is expressed through the long and enduring friendships she has with her Indian friends from many different tribes. Because her family is the only family in Denver from her tribe, she has not had opportunities to interact with others from her tribe. The connections to Indian culture that come to her through her Indian friends are intertribal in nature rather than specific to her tribe.

Caroline's mother lost contact with her family many years before Caroline was born, so she did not grow up with other Indian family members who could help her make a connection to her culture by learning about her tribal ways or family heritage. She was not exposed to Indian culture or Indian people much as a young child. She has never been to her mother's reservation. Using her tribe's name and location when identifying her ethnicity has nothing to do with her feeling any connection to her tribal-specific culture, but is done simply because she knows people will ask.

When she was younger, Caroline felt no draw to her mother's reservation; but as she is getting older, it is becoming more important to her to go back there to see what it is like and reconnect with family members still living there. She lived with her ex-husband and his family on their reservation, but remembers it as a bad experience and a life full of extreme depravation and inconvenience.

Caroline knows more about other tribes, especially the Lakota, than she knows about her own—about which she knows almost nothing. She shares that she does not worry much about not knowing her own tribal ways, even though she realizes that she has become totally disconnected from them. Throughout her lifetime, feeling as if she fit in around the majority Lakota culture of the city where she lived, and participating in

their cultural practices, as well as having friends from other tribes, has satisfied her need for connection to Indian culture.

Caroline was around few Indian people when she was very young, but began in her late elementary school years to make contacts with them through her mother's work at the original Denver Indian Center. She participated in an intertribal youth program as a teenager, and there she met a boyfriend whom she would later marry. For a time, the exposure to crafts, artwork, songs, and dancing she received through this program and the powwows, sweat lodges, and Indian community activities she participated in with her boyfriend and his family drew her more deeply into Indian culture and strengthened her connection to it. But, she recalls, she never really felt like she was a part of the community and always had a sense of looking in at it from the outside, because she was a quiet person who could never get fully involved. As an adult, she briefly deepened her involvement with the Indian community and Indian people by becoming involved in her children's school district Indian Education Program.

Caroline's experience has been that it is hard to learn about traditions and Indian spirituality when one lives in the city, because these are grounded in the reservation setting. She has had to specifically seek out in the city the ceremonies and opportunities to learn about and participate in traditional spirituality, and these have not always been readily available. Because of this difficulty, she has sought out additional avenues of Indian spiritual expression, such as going to an Indian Catholic Church, praying together with other Indian people, and performing personalized rituals like smudging and doing blessings. Caroline sees the value she places on being

connected with other people as an expression of her connection to traditional Indian spirituality.

An important connection to Indian culture that Caroline does feel is her connectedness to Indian values, especially those of being generous and helping people. By helping people without an expectation of reciprocity and being generous because she wants to, Caroline feels she stays connected to her culture, because she is exemplifying positive Indian values she was born with and that were strengthened by the examples her mother set. Currently, she does not practice any communal or group expressions of traditional spirituality, but instead incorporates personalized rituals related to traditional spirituality into her daily life. These she does in her home, which she has created as a specifically Indian space in an urban setting and which affords her, through her gifts of cooking and visiting, opportunities to nurture and support her most important connection to her culture—her Indian friends.

Rose—Family 5/Generation 1

Rose identifies an important aspect of her cultural connectedness to be the knowledge she has of her tribe's history, as well as her memories of her days growing up in Oklahoma. She has read and studied extensively the history of her tribe so that she can make this history known to non-Indians and correct stereotypes about Indians, as well. Sharing with others both her own experiences as an Indian person and those of her tribe creates for Rose a feeling of on-going connection to her culture.

Reminiscing about important interactions she had with other Indian people when she lived in Oklahoma currently helps Rose maintain a sense of cultural connectedness despite having almost no contact with other Indians who live in the Denver-metro

area. In addition, memories of extended family members who lived in Oklahoma also give her a sense of connection to her culture. In fact, she is now compiling her family's history for her children and grandchildren as a way to help them maintain their cultural ties.

Over time, marriage to a non-Indian changed Rose's cultural connectedness. Her involvement in cultural activities was mediated and constrained by her not wanting her husband to feel awkward or out of place. However, despite being concerned about her husband's feelings, Rose did consider it important to maintain connections with other Indian people, and to do so she served on a national Indian committee associated with her church. However, she sees that she eventually became absorbed into the culture of the urban area where she now lives and that she has ended up being more involved in activities associated with her urban community than with activities related to her culture. Despite this, the ability to use and understand Indian humor has always been an important way that Rose demonstrated her connection to Indian culture, and this aspect comes forth readily when she is with other Indian people.

Rose believes that she has always lacked one important connection to her culture—the ability to speak her tribal language. Her parents, who had both been in boarding school, did not teach her the language because they felt it would hamper her success in the dominant culture. She, however, maintains that she would have gotten along quite fine speaking both her tribal language and English, and that through the language she would have internalized a connection to her tribal-specific Indian culture that would have remained with her throughout her life.

William—Family 5/Generation 2

When he was young, William would go back each year to his aunt's ranch in Oklahoma to be with family, and thus, he acknowledges that there is a relationship between his sense of connectedness to Indian culture and the geographical area where his tribal group is located in Oklahoma (his tribe does not have a reservation). As a young person, William's aunt's ranch served to connect him to extended family members and to his culture in much the same way as a small tribal community that is organized around kinship relations might for an Indian person living on his or her reservation. Consequently, William believes that when his aunt died and the land passed out of his family's hands, not only did he lose a beloved family gathering place, he also lost a part of his cultural connectedness, as well.

William considers that knowing his tribal-specific traditions and being able to practice them are critical to being culturally connected. However, he believes that his ability to ever be truly culturally connected has been compromised by the loss of his tribe's specific traditional practices. This he attributes to past government policies that have lead to the assimilation into the dominant culture of most members of his tribe, even those still living in Oklahoma. In addition, he also identifies that the boarding school experiences of his grandparents and mother, which prevented them from gaining traditional knowledge, have also affected him and taken from him his cultural ways, such as speaking his language and practicing his tribe's traditional religion. Despite making attempts to do so, William has experienced difficulty in attempting to regain the connections to his culture that he senses would come through practicing tribal

traditions. For example, he never received an Indian name, but if he had William believes it would have helped him to feel more connected to his tribal-specific culture. Because he did not have connections within his family or with other tribal members through whom he could learn about his tribe's remaining traditions, William found himself reading books and in other ways learning about the traditions of other tribes. This, paradoxically, also had the effect of increasing his sense of connectedness to his own tribe. William has come to feel a kinship with other Indians, regardless of tribal affiliation, and this allows him to feel connected to Native culture in a more encompassing way. Thus, he finds himself feeling connected both to Indians, in general, and to his specific tribal group, as well.

Learning as a child that the Indian person from his tribe that was featured in a National Geographic article was his great-great-great grandfather spurred William to do research on his tribe and to explore his connection to other Indian people. Since the time he was a teen-ager, he has had a sense that there is something important about the connections Indian people have with one another. Although he associated with few Indians other than family members prior to attending college, upon entering the university his interest in his culture led him to seek out other Indian people, and to go on to work in Indian organizations and to serve on the board of an Indian community organization. Associating with other Indian people, regardless of tribe, continues to be an important way that William connects with Indian culture. And, having his connection to Indian culture be more apparent to outsiders would also help William feel more strongly connected. However, his experience continues to be that people

most often fail to identify him as Indian and misjudge his ethnicity to be that of another group.

William has currently set out to reconnect to his culture and has begun by reaching out to his mother for information that will increase his knowledge of his family's history as well as of his tribe's traditions. He deems that his ability to be connected to his tribal culture is dependent, to an extent, upon his mother sharing information about her own, as well as other family members' experiences of being Indian. However, he has found it difficult to get her to talk to him about this, and in turn, he remains feeling that he is less culturally connected than he could be. However, showing interest in his family and culture indicates to William that he has maintained more cultural connectedness than have his siblings, who do not have this same interest. In addition, marrying a Native woman and having Indian children is also a way that William sees could strengthen his connection to Indian culture and his family.

Cheryl—Family 5/Generation 2

Cheryl believes her connectedness to Indian culture comes through her mother and one of her brothers. She identifies strongly with her mother, who she has constructed as a powerful symbol of Indianness, as a way of reinforcing her connection to her tribal-specific culture. Returning home to her family's tribal area in Oklahoma has always given her a sense of belonging and cultural connectedness. The family cohesiveness she experiences when she is around her relatives and the way they interact together, telling stories and joking, exemplifies to her one important aspect of what she considers to be cultural connectedness. Cheryl grew up learning the traditional value of respect for parents, elders, and all life; and in retrospect, she now also credits that,

as well as her parents' use of traditional child-rearing and disciplinary practices, to helping her feel she has experienced Indian culture.

Traditional spirituality plays a very important role in her sense of connection to Indian culture. Unable to learn about her own tribe's traditional spirituality, she has studied that of the Lakota and become familiar with their worldview and practices. Simply knowing about the history of her tribe and trying to find out about its traditions and spirituality create in Cheryl a feeling of being connected to her culture. Remembering and honoring the struggles of her parents and her ancestors also plays a part of her connectedness.

Other traditions, such as language, history, and elders, and being part of a cohesive group are aspects that Cheryl identifies as connecting a person to Indian culture. She considers being a member of a visible and viable tribal community to be one part of cultural connectedness, but she does not actually have any connections to a community such as this. Instead she has read books and learned from family members that there is a band of her tribe where the people still retain many of the traditions. She believes that being able to go back to Canada and be with these traditional people would help her reconnect with her culture.

Cheryl has tried to write down stories she remembers being told by some of her elders, and she strives to retain these stories as a way of maintaining connections to a particular tribal tradition as well as being able to pass them on to future generations. She strives to live in accordance with women's traditional gender roles as is exemplified by her conscious choice to take on the traditional women's role of caring for her parents as ways of remaining connected her tribal culture. Lastly, Cheryl feels

a sense of cultural connection through traditional tribal artifacts that belong to her family and are in the possession of her mother.

Cheryl's connections to other Indian people are exclusively with members of her family in Oklahoma; she has not sought out relationships with other Indian people. Her phenotypically White appearance causes her to be self-consciousness around other Indians and has caused her to avoid Indian community events unless she is with her mother or brother. Thus, she is neither involved in the urban Indian community nor does she interact with other Indian people in the urban setting in which she lives, and her only current connections with other Indians are with family members. She feels she has re-created in the urban environment the cohesive family group she experienced in the past in Oklahoma; however, members of this current group are all non-Indians. Living in an urban area causes Cheryl to feel that she is losing her connection to her tribal culture, because it is difficult for her to know what is going on with her tribe in Oklahoma. Keeping up on tribal happenings and visiting her tribal area are things Cheryl feels would help her increase her cultural connectedness. She feels she is one of only a few tribal members of her generation who are really interested in staying connected to their tribal-specific culture, and to do this, she believes that it is important for her to be a part of re-establishing her tribal community. However, she has no ideas as to how she might be a part of making this happen.

Involvement in tribal politics is a way of being culturally connected that Cheryl has identified, as is being an activist around larger Indian issues. She has done neither of these, however, because she considers that she will have to know a lot more about the larger Indian issues before she can become active. Her goal is to eventually move in

that direction, and she believes that this will increase her sense of cultural involvement and lead to an increased sense of cultural connectedness. Currently, reading Native literature, exhibiting her Nativeness outwardly through the jewelry and clothing she wears, and spending time in the familiar and relaxed company of her mother and brother are the main strategies that Cheryl uses to stay connected to her culture.

APPENDIX 6. FAMILY DESCRIPTIVE SYNTHESSES

OF CULTURAL IDENTITY AND CULTURAL CONNECTEDNESS

Family 1

A belief in the inherent adaptability and flexibility of Indian people coupled with the conviction that one must incorporate Indian and non-Indian ways in order to stay balanced and live successfully in an urban area characterizes Family 1. Lifetimes of associations and relationships with other Indians, living in alignment with cultural values, and urban Indian community involvement form the foundation of members' cultural connectedness. Indian heritage plus the internalization of traditional Lakota values result in members feeling that they have stable core cultural identities that are a natural part of who they are; these identities remain consistent whether members are in the city or on the family's reservation.

Some tension exists among family members in Generations 1 and 2 because those individuals who see themselves to be more identified with and connected to Indian culture feel other members who are more assimilated into the dominant culture have moved in the wrong direction. Members of Generations 3 and 4, however, are moving solidly in the direction of embracing their tribal culture and identifying strongly with their specific band of the Lakota people.

Family 2

Family 2 can be characterized by the belief that the city offers Indian people the opportunity to better their lives and that urban Indians are more self-sufficient, hardworking and able to take advantage of opportunities—such as jobs and education—than reservation-based Indians. Members of Family 2 believe that the Generation 1 members' leaving the reservation and coming to live in Denver was a beneficial thing,

even if, as one member remarked, it caused future generations to have less connection to their culture. Family members consider that breaking ties to the reservation “for good” allowed the family to become independent and to avoid the problems plaguing its tribal community, such as gripping poverty and alcoholism. However, despite living in the city many family members still struggled with substance abuse.

The Generation 2 member interviewed for this study, as well as members of Generation 3, strongly identify as an urban Indians and their identities are not connected to being from a specific tribe, but rather arise from ties to family and other Indian people. In fact, these individuals state that being Indian doesn’t make one that different from people from other ethnic groups, and they demonstrate this by placing a high value on cross cultural experiences. The member of Generation 2 member is connected to Indian culture through family on the reservation, other Indian people in city, and traditional values, especially the value placed on sobriety. There is an abrupt change in cultural connectedness after Generation 2, however, as Generations 3 members describe having dual ethnic identities and few associations with other Indians, and they hold the belief that cultural connectedness in their family has ended with their generation.

Family 3

Members of Family 3 agree that they have a good life in the city and one that is much easier than it would be if they lived on their reservation. However, members believe that urban life contains the potential for cultural loss, and so members focus on strengthening and maintaining cultural identity and cultural connectedness in order to counter this threat. Family 3 can be characterized as believing that family ties create cultural connectedness and that it is critically important to maintain strong ties to one’s

reservation by knowing relatives living there. Members also consider that cultural connectedness comes through cultural immersion, which includes learning about one's culture, knowing tribal traditions, learning the language, and participating in activities such as powwows.

Cultural identity in this family is established through family interactions and becomes internalized through exposure to elements of culture such as language, traditions, and powwows. Despite their strong connections to their reservation and tribal culture, members of Family 3 do not see Indian identity as being context dependent and instead would consider themselves to be Lakota wherever they might live.

Members of Family 3 have each spent a great deal of time becoming aware of and analyzing the differences between Indian and non-Indian cultures and the value systems that underlie the two. Thus, members consider resistance to involvement with mainstream culture to be critically important because its practices and beliefs are inconsistent with the traditional Lakota values they strive to live by. At the same time, however, members agree that when an Indian person lives in an urban environment, he or she must be flexible and adapt to the world around them.

Family 4

Members of Family 4 have been the only members of their tribe to have ever lived in Denver, and past family circumstances have left them with little remaining connection to their reservation and tribal community. However, they continue to identify as members of their specific tribe, but this identity is not dependent upon being with other members of that tribe. Along side their tribal identity, they also consider being able to identify with other Indians, regardless of tribal affiliation to be extremely important.

Family 4 can be characterized by the belief that cultural identity and connectedness come through long-term and stable friendships and relationships with other Indians in the urban setting. These relationships are especially important as they provide an avenue through which members of this family are able to express a deep and carefully guarded part of their Indian identity that they make visible only to other Indians. Indian identity in members of Family 4 is also constructed around being hard working, responsible, determined, independent, sober, and able to overcome challenges.

Cultural connectedness for members of Family 4 also comes through relationships with other Indians, plus involvement in their urban Indian community. Family members place a high value on being exposed to people and traditions from many different tribes. They find these connections with Indians from other tribes through their participation in both traditional Indian spirituality and the Indian Catholic Church. Cultural connectedness is also expressed by members by practicing traditional Indian values, especially those related to family relationships, how to treat people, and how Indian people should act when together.

Family 5

Family 5 has also been the only family from its tribe to have ever lived in Denver. Members of this family see themselves as extensions of their tribe's history. Members of Generations 2 and 3 consider cultural identity and cultural connectedness (concepts they use synonymously) to come from their mother and to be demonstrated by knowing about tribal history and family members' experiences of being Indian in Oklahoma. All members have strongly internalized cultural identities, and they consider that neither interactions with other Indians, nor being present in their tribal area are necessary in

order to maintain their identities. However, knowing that they are from Oklahoma does impart a sense of cultural connectedness to family members. Of all study families, Family 5 expresses the strongest belief that identity and connectedness are tied to the tribal land base.

Family 5 comes from a small tribe that has struggled to maintain its distinct tribal identity in the face of losing its federal recognition and having its members absorbed into a larger and culturally unrelated tribe. Individuals in Generation 2 believe that most tribal traditions and practices are now lost and that the majority of tribal members, like their own family members, are highly assimilated and acculturated into the dominant society. This makes it difficult, Generation 2 family members believe, to learn about the tribe and their family history, and thus challenges their abilities to develop and maintain their cultural identity and cultural connectedness. In all generations of Family 5, members focus a great deal on whether they, and other members, look phenotypically Indian. They deem members who are less “Indian looking” to have more difficulty identifying as Indian, and that because all members of Generation 3 are mixed-blooded and look White, these young people’s only remaining Indianness is because they have a grandmother who is Indian.

APPENDIX 7. INFORMED CONSENT AND MINOR ASSENT FORMS

Informed Consent for Individual Participation in a Research Study Involving Urban American Indians

You are invited to participate in a study called “*An Intergenerational Examination of the Effects of Urbanization on American Indian Cultural Identity and Cultural Connections*”. This research study is being conducted by Nancy M. Lucero, MSW, LCSW, in order to complete a doctoral dissertation at the University of Denver Graduate School of Social Work. As an urban American Indian, I am very interested in understanding more about how the experience of living in an urban area affects the cultural identities and cultural connections of American Indian people. I am hoping that the results of this study will contribute to a greater understanding in this area and that they may help in designing and providing better services to urban American Indians. The study is being supervised by the chairperson of my dissertation committee, Dr. Enid O. Cox, of the Graduate School of Social Work, University of Denver, Denver, CO 80208; 303/871-4018.

The individual interview for this study will take about 2-1/2 to 3 hours to complete. Participation will involve taking part in an audio-taped interview where you will share with the researcher your experiences as they relate to your feelings about being an American Indian who lives in an urban area. You may be contacted later by the researcher to clarify things you have said or to see if you would like to talk further about your experiences in another interview. Your decision to participate or not participate in this study is completely voluntary. You may choose to not answer any question during the interview or end the interview at any time you want. If asked by the researcher to do so, you may choose to not participate in a follow up interview. You are also free to withdraw from the study at any time. Refusal to answer a question or withdraw from participation involves no penalty. Following your individual interview you may be asked if you would like to participate in a group interview session with other members of your family. If you agree to participate in that session, you will be asked to give your signed consent again on a new form. All information gathered for this study will be confidential. This means that only the researcher and her supervising chairperson (Dr. Cox) will have access to the personal information you provide. An identification number will be used on all paperwork. Only the researcher will have the list that matches this number with your name and this list will be kept in a secure setting accessible only to the researcher. Other members of the Denver Indian Community who comprise a study advisory board will be assisting the researcher by contacting individuals to see if they would like to take part in the study. You may know some or all of these advisory board members. These individuals are John Compton, Rose Marie McGuire, and Sasha Hoskie. Your decision to participate in the study may be known to these community members due to their involvement in the recruitment process. These individuals, however, will not listen to the tape recordings of your interview nor will they see the transcript or anything else that contains any personal information. Members of the study advisory board have signed a confidentiality agreement in which they have agreed not to disclose your name and your decision to participate in the study. Some

of your family members may also be taking part in individual interviews for this study. These family members will not have access to the information you provide in your interview, nor will you have access to their information.

There are three exceptions to the promise of confidentiality. Any information you reveal concerning suicide, homicide, or child abuse and neglect is required by law to be reported to the proper authorities. In addition, should any information contained in this study be the subject of a court order, the University of Denver might not be able to avoid compliance with the order or subpoena.

The benefits of being involved in this study include sharing your personal experiences in a way that may benefit others. You may also enjoy the ability to share your own story of living in an urban American Indian community. Your participation can also contribute to knowledge about urban American Indians, which in turn may help improve programs and services to Indian people. You will, however, receive no compensation for your participation in the study. Potential risks of being involved in the study include the possibility that recalling or discussing your experiences may be upsetting or painful. However, the researcher will conduct the interview in a way that is sensitive and respectful. If you should become upset and feel you need additional support, the researcher can arrange for a referral to an appropriate professional. The researcher will provide you with periodic updates on the progress of the study and will give you a written summary of the findings when the study is completed.

If you have questions regarding this study or the rights of research subjects, please feel free to contact the researcher at 720/201-2000 or Dr. Enid Cox at 303/871-4018. If you have concerns or complaints about how you were treated during the research study, please contact Dr. Dennis Wittmer, Chair, Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects, at 303/871-4052, or Sylk Sotto-Santiago, Office of Sponsored Programs at 303/871-4052, or write to either at the University of Denver, Office of Sponsored Programs, 2199 S. University Blvd., Denver, CO 80208.

You may keep a copy of this consent form for your records. Please sign the form if you understand and agree to participate.

I have read and understood the foregoing descriptions of the study called “An Intergenerational Examination of the Effects of Urbanization on American Indian Cultural Identity and Cultural Connections”. I have asked for and received a satisfactory explanation of any language that I did not fully understand. I agree to participate (or have my child participate) in this study and I understand that I may withdraw my consent at any time. I have received a copy of the consent form.

Signature of participant

Date

If participant is under 18,
signature of parent/legal guardian

Date

- ☐ I agree to be audio taped.
☐ I do not agree to be audio taped.

Signature of participant

Date

- ☐ I agree to have my child be audio taped.
☐ I do not agree to have my child be audio taped.

If participant is under 18,
signature of parent/legal guardian

Date

- ☐ I would like a summary of the results of this study to be mailed to me at the following postal or e-mail address:

Assent for a Minor's Individual Participation
in a Research Study Involving Urban American Indians

You are invited to participate in a study called "*An Intergenerational Examination of the Effects of Urbanization on American Indian Cultural Identity and Cultural Connections*". As an urban American Indian, like you, I am very interested in understanding more about how the experience of living in an urban area affects how Indian people see themselves. The individual interview for this study will take about 2-1/2 to 3 hours to complete. Participation will involve taking part in an audio-taped interview where you will share with me how you feel about being an American Indian who lives in an urban area. Your decision to participate or not participate in this study is completely voluntary. You may choose to not answer any question during the interview or end the interview at any time you want. You are also free to withdraw from the study at any time. Refusal to answer a question or withdraw from participation involves no penalty.

All information gathered for this study will be confidential. This means that only the researcher and her supervisor will have access to the personal information you provide. Some of your family members may also be taking part in individual interviews for this study. These family members will not have access to the information you provide in your interview, nor will you have access to their information.

There are three exceptions to the promise of confidentiality. Any information you reveal concerning suicide, homicide, or child abuse and neglect is required by law to be reported to the proper authorities. In addition, should any information contained in this study be the subject of a court order, the University of Denver might not be able to avoid compliance with the order or subpoena.

The benefits of being involved in this study include sharing your personal experiences in a way that may benefit others. You may also enjoy the ability to share your own story of living in an urban American Indian community. You will, however, receive no compensation for your participation in the study. Potential risks of being involved in the study include the possibility that recalling or discussing your experiences may be upsetting or painful. However, the researcher will conduct the interview in a way that is sensitive and respectful. If you should become upset and feel you need additional support, the researcher can arrange to get you help. If you have questions regarding this study or the rights of research subjects, please feel free to contact the researcher at 720/201-2000 or Dr. Enid Cox at 303/871-4018. If you have concerns or complaints about how you were treated during the research study, please contact Dr. Dennis Wittmer, Chair, Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects, at 303/871-4052, or Sylk Sotto-Santiago, Office of Sponsored Programs at 303/871-4052, or write to either at the University of Denver, Office of Sponsored Programs, 2199 S. University Blvd., Denver, CO 80208. You may keep a copy of this consent form for your records. Please sign the form if you understand and agree to participate.

Signature of participant

Date

- ☐ I agree to be audio taped
- ☐ I do not agree to be audio taped

Signature of participant

APPENDIX 8. UNIVERSITY IRB APPROVAL

University of Denver

Sylk Sotto-Santiago, MBA
Manager, Regulatory Research Compliance
Tel: 303-871-4052

Certification of Human Subjects Approval

January 14, 2008

To, Nancy Lucero, BS, MSW

Subject Human Subject Review

TITLE: An Intergenerational Examination of the Effects of Urbanization on American Indian Cultural Identity and Cultural Connections IRB#: 2007-0146 Dear Lucero,

The Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects has reviewed the above named project. The project has been approved for the procedures and subjects described in the protocol at the null meeting. This approval is effective for twelve months. We will be sending you a continuation application reminder for this project. This form must be submitted to the Office of Research and Sponsored Programs if the project is to be continued. This information must be updated on a yearly basis, upon continuation of your IRB approval for as long as the research remains active.

NOTE: Please add the following information to any consent forms, surveys, questionnaires, invitation letters, etc you will use in your research as follows: This survey (consent, study, etc.) was approved by the University of Denver's Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects in Research on null. This information must be updated on a yearly basis, upon continuation of your IRB approval for as long as the research remains active.

The Institutional Review Board appreciates your cooperation in protecting subjects and ensuring that each subject gives a meaningful consent to participate in research projects. If you have any questions regarding your obligations under the Assurance, please do not hesitate to contact us.

Sincerely yours,

Dennis Wittmer, PhD

Chair, Institutional Review Board
for the Protection of Human Subjects

Approval Period:

09/11/2007 through 09/10/2008

Application Type - Review Type:

Full Board - Full Review - NEW

Funding:

SPO:

Investigational New Drug :

Investigational Device:

Assurance Number:

00004520, 00004520a

University of Denver

Sylk Sotto-Santiago, MBA
Manager, Regulatory Research Compliance
Tel: 303-871-4052

Certification of Human Subjects Approval

July 28, 2008

To: Nancy Lucero, BS, MSW

Subject **Human Subject Review**

TITLE: An Intergenerational Examination of the Effects of Urbanization on American Indian

Cultural Identity and Cultural Connections

IRB#: 2007-0146

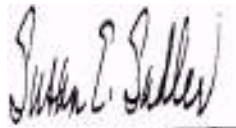
Dear Lucero,

The Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects has reviewed the above named project. The project has been approved for the procedures and subjects described in the protocol at the 07/28/2008 meeting. This approval is effective for twelve months. We will be sending you a continuation application reminder for this project. This form must be submitted to the Office of Sponsored Programs if the project is to be continued. This information must be updated on a yearly basis, upon continuation of your IRB approval for as long as the research continues.

NOTE: Please add the following information to any consent forms, surveys, questionnaires, invitation letters, etc you will use in your research as follows: This survey (consent, study, etc.) was approved by the University of Denver's Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects in Research on 07/28/2008. This information must be updated on a yearly basis, upon continuation of your IRB approval for as long as the research continues. 1

The Institutional Review Board appreciates your cooperation in protecting subjects and ensuring that each subject gives a meaningful consent to participate in research projects. If you have any questions regarding your obligations under the Assurance, please do not hesitate to contact us.

Sincerely yours,



Susan Sadler, PhD

Chair, Institutional Review Board
for the Protection of Human Subjects

Approval Period: 07/28/2008 through 07/27/2009

Review Type: Full Board - RENEWAL

Funding: Other SPO:36451A

Investigational New Drug :

Investigational Device:

Assurance Number: 00004520, 00004520a